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"INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF AN OLD PIONEER": THE MEMOIR OF FIELDS JARVIS

John Lee Allaman

Memoirs and letters are fascinating historical materials. Government documents and newspaper reports are very useful as records of the past, but they are not as personal or as vivid as reminiscences. Surely our knowledge of the frontier in Illinois would be diminished, for example, if Thomas Ford and John Reynolds had never written their autobiographical accounts. And frequently the individuals who wrote memoirs for publication were prominent people. Both Reynolds and Ford were governors of Illinois. But less well-known men and women sometimes produced useful and interesting recollections. In 1856, for example, one year after John Reynolds published his autobiography, Fields Jarvis penned for publication his memoir of frontier Illinois. Jarvis was not a prominent Illinois politician, but he was a very early resident of St. Clair, Madison, Sangamon, Warren, and Henderson counties. He witnessed the settlement of Illinois from 1796 to 1856. During those sixty years, he saw Americans struggle northward out of the American Bottom to populate the entire state.

Jarvis would be forgotten if it were not for the memoir he left. He is virtually an unknown individual. Scattered tracks of his life are found in official records, but there is no biographical sketch, obituary, or burial record. The substantive evidence of his existence is the memoir that he penned at the age of sixty-six, which was published as "Incidents in the Life of an Old Pioneer" in the *Oquawka Spectator* in May of 1856. He had probably written it at the request of the editors and publishers, John B. and Edwin H. N. Patterson. John B. Patterson was evidently a devotee of pioneer autobiographies since he had edited and published Black Hawk's autobiography in 1833.[1]

John Jarvis, Fields Jarvis's father, had left his home near present day Grafton, West Virginia in 1793 and moved to Woodford County, Kentucky. Then in 1796 he moved to the first American settlement in the Illinois Country, at New Design. The area that would later become the State of

Illinois was very sparsely settled, having perhaps a couple thousand residents. By 1800 it had only 2,458.[2]

The first official mention of John Jarvis and his son Fields dealt with land. They are listed as being subscribers to a Congressional petition asking for preemption rights to public lands in Randolph and St. Clair Counties in 1805. John Jarvis's brother, Franklin, is listed in 1811 as petitioning the United States government for one hundred acres of land in the Kaskaskia district of Illinois. Land ownership was an important concern with early residents of Illinois since no opportunity to buy land was available until the earlier French claims were settled. Public land was not allowed to be preempted or even sold until 1813 and 1814.[3]

The beginning of land sales in 1814 was what probably prompted John Jarvis to move in 1814 from St. Clair County to Madison County. He bought land along the southern boundary of present day Madison County, which later became the site of Troy, Illinois. In recognition that he was the first man in that area to buy land from the United States government, the township was called Jarvis Township. He operated a tavern and grist mill in Madison County, and he was also a devout Methodist and a staunch abolitionist. The elder Jarvis lived in the county until his death on October 29, 1823.[4]

The first official notice of Fields Jarvis, the memoir writer, dealt with the Indian problem in Illinois. In 1812, he served as a private in Captain Jacob Short's Company of Mounted Rifle Men. In order for the Americans to settle in Illinois, the Indians had to give up their claims to the land. The red men in Illinois did not favor the idea, so the American settlements had to be constantly on guard against "hostile savages."[5]

In 1817, Fields Jarvis was appointed an ensign in the 7th Regiment of Illinois Militia. Between 1809 and 1819, the Americans and the native Indian tribes were engaged in an almost constant feud for control of Illinois territory. The high point of this strife occurred during 1812, with the burning of Fort Dearborn and with Governor Ninian Edwards and Illinois Militia troops using Camp Russel near present day Edwardsville as a base camp to raid Kickapoo and Potawatomi villages near the Sangamon River and Peoria Lake. Only when the Kickapoos relinquished their claims to central Illinois in 1819 were the Americans able to march northward and settle. The efficiency of Jarvis and other Americans in finally forcing the Indians out of Illinois can be measured by Jedediah Morse's statement in 1822. He said that most of the Indians in Illinois "are already gone, or are going, beyond the Mississippi to some spot selected, or to be selected, for their future 'permanent' residence."[6]

With central Illinois open to settlement, emigrants moved northward into the open lands. Fields Jarvis was no exception. By the late 1820s, he had settled in Sangamon County, and by about 1829 he had moved to Warren County in the Military Tract. Jarvis settled on land at the head of Ellison Creek in Ellison Township. His final service as an Indian fighter occurred during the Black Hawk War. On June 11, 1832, "Fields F. Jarves"

enrolled as a private in Captain Peter Butler's Company of Mounted Rangers. Butler's Company never saw action because they were kept stationed in Warren County as a home-defense force. The major action that sixteen members of the unit engaged in was chasing after the Indian murderers of William Martin on August 10, 1832.[7]

Jarvis is honored as one of the pioneer settlers of Warren County. The 1886 Warren County History claimed "Mr. Jarvis was a large, powerful man, and a noted bee-hunter. The early settlers depended upon Field almost entirely to furnish them with honey." He is also reported as being a supporter of the Methodist faith. It was only on August 25, 1839 that Jarvis finally purchased land in the center of Ellison Township for $300. He evidently survived fairly well during the financial depression of 1837 to 1843, when money was scarce and barter was often used to carry on business dealings.[8]

Notwithstanding that he had purchased land, Jarvis was still a rolling stone. The 1850 census lists Fields Jarvis as a resident of the town of Oquawka in Henderson County, with property worth $600. In May, 1856, the Pattersons said that Jarvis was then living near Berwick in Warren County. The claim was also made that he was an expert in the "knowledge of the medicinal properties of various herbs." Jarvis was again living in Henderson County in 1859. His probate record shows he died sometime in January or February of 1859. He may have been residing near Shokokon when he died. In his last years Jarvis was a money lender. His estate was worth $1120. All but $100 of the estate were notes for money he had loaned out to individuals. His only other property was one horse and an old buggy. No record appears to exist documenting Jarvis's burial location.[9]

Jarvis's memoir is an action-packed narrative. The major part of the work deals with the survival of American settlers despite the scalping knives and tomahawks of the Indians. Most of the memoir describes Illinois history before 1820. Jarvis quickly surveyed the years between 1820 and 1856. Of course one major reason for this was that most of the readers of the *Oquawka Spectator* in 1856 were familiar with life in Illinois after 1820 because many of them had personally experienced those years. Another reason was that the Pattersons wanted an exciting story of days long-past for their newspaper readers.

One important factor in the evaluation of Jarvis's memoir is that it may have been edited and altered by the Pattersons into a tale of heroic pioneer struggles. John B. Patterson is known to have tampered with and added material to his second edition of the Black Hawk autobiography in 1882. And in 1849 Edwin H. N. Patterson wrote a historical novel that purported to be an authentic autobiography of a Spanish adventurer in Mexico.[10] Hence, the Pattersons have a record of linking autobiograhical and literary purposes. However, the Jarvis memoir appears to be an historically accurate account of the early Illinois frontier.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF AN OLD PIONEER

A long time ago there lived in old Virginia three brothers, named Field Jarvis, John Jarvis, and Franklin Jarvis. John Jarvis was my father. I was born in 1790. In 1793, as well as I can recollect, my father and uncle Franklin Jarvis emigrated to Woodford county in the State of Kentucky, where they resided about three years. They then removed from Kentucky to what is now the State of Illinois, and settled, in 1796, at a place called New Design.

At that time there were but few Americans settled in the country, the white inhabitants being mostly French, who had settled along the rivers or lived among the Indians. Most of the Americans who had settled in the country at that time were located at New Design, and at what was known as Whitesides' Station. Some few families had settled on the American Bottom, along the Mississippi river. The stations of New Design and that of Whitesides' were situated about six miles apart, and fortified against the Indians, who roamed over the country in such numbers that they could readily have exterminated the American settlers, but they allowed them to remain unmolested in person, with few exceptions, though they not unfrequently appropriated the cattle and horses of their white neighbors to their own use, without compensation.

My father resided at New Design as well as I can recollect, until the fall of 1801, when they broke up the station, as will be shown hereafter.

It was in the season of 1800 that a delegation of Spaniards came from St. Louis to our station for the purpose of inducing the Americans settled there to accept the protection of the crown of Spain, and remove to Upper Louisiana, as that country, now Missouri, was then under Spanish rule. Our little band of pioneers were assembled on the occasion, and an address delivered by one of the delegates in which he used all the persuasive eloquence he could muster, in portraying the advantages to be derived to the Americans by removing to their territory and becoming subjects of his Royal Master — promising two hundred acres of land each to the man and wife, besides one hundred acres to each child of every family who might remove into their territory and become subjects of the crown. But few of our party accepted the terms offered, indignation being excited in most of us at the idea of bowing to the yoke of a foreign Despot for the prospective increase of wealth alone. Those who did accept the terms offered by the agents, and removed to the Spanish territory, left a deep stain on their reputation among their former associates. During the time the agent was delivering his address, my father, being desirous of ascertaining what our future situation was likely to be with regard to the liberty of conscience and the control of our pocuniary affairs under the Spanish Government, proposed the following questions to the speaker, who, being more candid in his replies than many politicians of the modern

school, effectually annihilated all desire from most of us of becoming subjects to his Royal Master.

"If we accept of your proposition and remove to and settle in your territory, will we be at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences."

"You will be required to worship God in conformity with the Catholic faith."

"Will any Clergyman we select be allowed to consummate the rites of Matrimony amongst us?"

"You will be required to consummate those rites in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Holy Catholic Church."

"When we shall have accumulated property under your government what portion of that property will be considered as belonging to the crown of Spain?"

"Every tenth dollar of each subject's wealth belongs to our sovereign."

To these answers my father replied, "You are at liberty to continue your address; I am now satisfied."

To exhibit to the present and future generations, should these pages ever come before them, the manner in which we were obliged to live while occupying those stations, the necessity we were under of being constantly on the alert, by keeping the closest watch over the surrounding savages, I will cite some events which happened amongst us while occupying those posts. It was indispensable in those days for every man to act as a minute man, to be ready armed and equipped at all times, to march at the shortest notice in defence of himself and his neighbors.

It was either in the fall of 1797 or '98 that Joel Whitesides, then a young man, had occasion to go from New Design to Whitesides' Station, a distance of six miles. Arming himself with his rifle, he left home alone. He had not proceeded more than half a mile on his way when he was waylaid and fired upon by an Indian, the ball passing through the right side of the breast, a little below the collar bone, making a large and dangerous wound which was afterwards cleansed by drawing a silk handkerchief through the opening made by the ball. The Indian soon discovered he had wounded his intended victim, and fearing the shot might be returned with fatal effect to himself, commenced jumping to right and left with all his agility, to prevent Mr. Whitesides' ball from taking effect. This he continued for some time, hoping to see his victim fall to the ground, when, with the tomahawk and scalping knife, he would complete his purpose. Finding Mr. Whitesides maintain his ground, though from the nature of the wound, unable to discharge his rifle, and knowing he was within hearing of the fort, and would be pursued, he fled with all haste, taking a zig-zag course as he left, to prevent Mr. Whitesides ball taking effect, in case he should fire at him. His course was toward the American Bottom, on the Mississippi, where the band to which he belonged resided. His anxiety to possess the scalp of Mr. Whitesides overcame his better judgment, as the time he lost waiting for his victim to fall cost him his life. As soon as the

Indian left, Mr. Whitesides returned to the fort, and on his way met six or eight friends already on the alert, who, having heard the report of the Indian's rifle, were coming to his assistance. They took the trail of the Indian, which they followed rapidly (being mounted and a light snow on the ground) about three miles, when they overtook and dispatched him with little ceremony.

Two years before my father arrived at New Design, a family named McMahan, composed of eight persons, becoming tired of residing in the fort, were induced to build a house about two miles distant, to which they removed, but within six weeks from the time of their removal the tomahawk and scalping knife had done their work, sealing in the cold embrace of death, all the members of the family except the father and younger daughter, who were taken prisoners at the time, and carried to the Wabash country. The father made his escape before reaching the Indian towns, and the daughter was obtained at a treaty some time afterwards. At the time the Indians, five in number, entered the house, Mr. McMahan was armed with a blunderbuss heavily charged, and might have killed the whole at one discharge, but his unfortunate wife becoming frantic at the scene, grasped her husband round the arms in her fright, in such manner as prevented his discharging the piece, while in that position a blow from the tomahawk struck her senseless to the floor, the scalp torn from her head, and her husband taken prisoner.

Three years after the unfortunate affair of McMahan's, a family by the name of Welden moved into and occupied the house in which McMahan's family had been murdered. Another family by the name of Toland had built a house half a mile nearer the fort on the road to Welden's. In the autumn of 1799 Mr. Toland was seized with a violent fever, his life being despaired of for some days, by those who went on each evening to watch by him. On the fifth night of their attendance, expecting it to be the last night of his existence, his friends from the station arrived at the house earlier than usual, under feelings which such scenes are calculated to inspire, when witnessing one of so small a band associated together for mutual defence, against a surrounding foe, is about to leave them forever and join the dead. It happened on this particular evening, that Mr. Welden, who was favored with a son possessing a singular propensity for being heard at a distance, and whose love for the vocal was only equalled by the power of his lungs, had about dark sent his juvenile stentor out on the prairie to bring in his cattle, which the lad soon found, and turning them toward home, commenced his favorite amusement by yelling his wildest notes through the whole gamut. His shrieks were heard by the sympathizing friends of Mr. Toland, who, supposing the Indians had attacked, and were massacring the family of Mr. Welden, became alarmed, and, together with Mr. Toland's family, fled with the utmost precipitation to the fort, leaving Mr. Toland, as they supposed, in the last agonies of a violent fever, to die alone, or submit to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the ruthless barbarian. What was the astonishment of the affrighted friends of Mr.

Toland when, a few minutes after their arrival at the station, Mr. Toland entered my father's house; having, under the excitement of fear, left his bed, though apparently suffering in the last stage of fever, and followed his friends with all possible haste, to a place of safety. The alarm, together with the fatigue incurred in making his way to the fort, produced profuse perspiration, which resulted in his rapid recovery — affording one instance of what can be performed by some persons when under a high degree of excitement.

I believe it was in 1801 that our numbers became increased by a company of emigrants from the south branch of the Potomac river. Soon after their arrival at our station, a violent and fatal disease broke out amongst them, which swept off sixty-five of our number during three months, amongst whom were my mother and an only brother. The fatal character of the disease became alarming to our people, who, considering they might as well die by the rifle and tomahawk of the Indian, as the pestilence, moved out from the fort and commenced settling the frontier of what is now the State of Illinois.

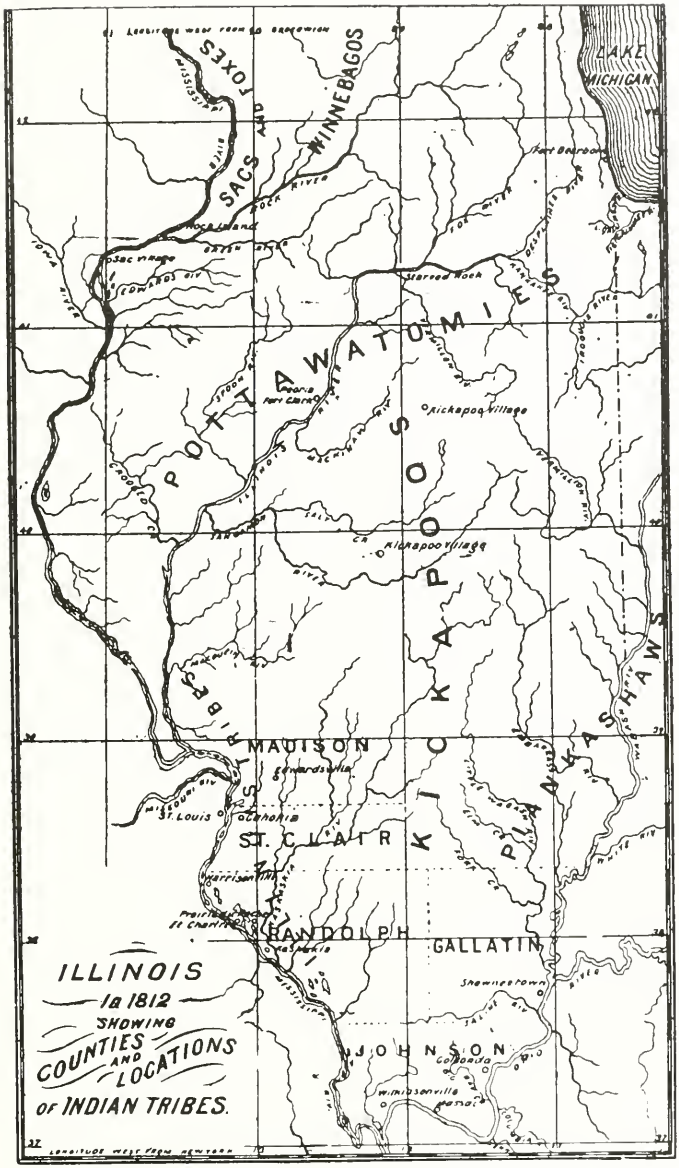
My father having become prejudiced against the cultivation of the prairie lands, removed to Horse Creek, near old Kaskaskia town, where he settled in the midst of a densely timbered district, and commenced building and clearing off a farm, on which he resided about five years. At the end of this time he became convinced that his friends, who had located on the prairies, had much the advantage of him in the difference of the labor required in making their farms. He then left his place on Horse Creek and settled near Turkey Hill, in what is now St. Clair county. At the time my father settled on Horse creek, we were surrounded by the Kaskaskia Indians, who had always been friendly toward the Americans. Batteese De Quoine, their chief, had at all times evinced the strongest friendship toward the settlers. He had two sons, one of whom was educated at Washington city, under the direction of Thomas Jefferson, and was afterwards known by the name of Jefferson De Quoine. During one of the hunting excursions of Batteese and a part of his band, their camp was visited one evening by a strange Indian, who, on approaching Batteese and introducing himself after their fashion, requested the assistance of some of the Kaskaskia Indians in killing and robbing an American, whom he had been following for some days through the prairies, for that purpose, but feared to make an attack alone. He promised to divide the spoils they might obtain, amongst those of the Kaskaskia's who should volunteer their services on that occasion. Batteese heard him through, and after learning his motives, ordered his men to secure the culprit, and kept him in custody until they delivered him to the civil authorities at Kaskaskia. The unfortunate Indian was imprisoned during the following winter, and tried at the succeeding term of court, where he was condemned to be hung, and executed a short time afterwards. At the time of his execution he addressed the crown assembled on the occasion, charging them with having deprived him of his blue hunt, but consoled

himself by stating that he was going to a place where he would make it up in the red, (or summer hunt,) without difficulty.

It was during our residence among the Kaskaskia Indians that I first acquired a knowledge of the vegetable kingdom. Being young and of inquiring mind, and frequently visiting their camps, I learned from them the use and application of many of those plants designed by the Great Author of nature to be serviceable to man.

My father resided in St. Clair county until the spring of 1814, he then removed to Madison county, that being the frontier settlements of the country. In this latter he continued until his death. During our residence in St. Clair county, no difficulties of consequence occurred with the Indians on the frontier, until 15 of June, 1811. On that day, being Sunday, a party of Kickapoo Indians came into our settlement, and went to the house of a Friend, or Quaker, with whom they had previously been acquainted. The parents of the family were absent on a visit to one of the neighbors, having left a son and daughter at home. The Indians entered the house in the usual friendly manner, addressing the children in their customary way, by offering their hand in friendship. One of them grasped the hand of the young man, and held him while another tomahawked and scalped him, then seizing the daughter, carried her off as a prisoner, leaving the bleeding remains of her brother lying in the house. This transaction immediately aroused the neighborhood, and a company of armed men were soon in pursuit of the Indians, whose trail they followed so rapidly, that the Indians were overtaken, and their prisoner recaptured before they could reach one of their villages. At this time our frontier was but sparsely settled, the difficulties with the Indians, (who were no doubt, stimulated by British influence,) began to assume a serious character. They roamed through our settlement, plundering from the inhabitants whatever they could appropriate to their own use or destroying their property.

So great was the annoyance, and fear of life, by this system of robbery and plunder that many of the settlers fled from their farms to the interior of the settlements, where a more dense population gave greater security to their lives. The territorial governor, Ninian Edwards, foreseeing the injuries that must result from abandoning the frontier, which wo'd induce the Indians to destroy the remaining property and stimulate them to increased outrages, and to prevent if possible the retreat of the inhabitants from the frontier, travelled through the country, placed every able bodied man under pay of one dollar per day to remain on his farm, and there defend their own lives and property and those of their neighbors. This course of the governor restored confidence and gave general satisfaction to the people, who remained firm under this organization until superceded by other means of defence. I remained as a frontier guard under the direction of the governor until the following year, 1812. In that year our effective force commenced organizing into volunteer companies. I then joined a rifle company commanded by Capt. James B. Moore, in which I served three months; at the end of which time I joined another company under the



Map of Illinois in 1812, from *Illinois Historical and Statistical* by John Moses.

command of Capt. Shortz, for another term of three months. Soon after I received my discharge from the latter company I entered the service again, and was out in the campaign of Gov. Edwards against the Kickapoo and Pottowatamie Indians, whose towns were situated toward the source of the Illinois river, then remote from our settlements. At the commencement of this campaign arrangements had been made for Gen. Hopkins, then commanding on the Wabash, with two thousand men under his command to join Gov. Edwards, and with their combined forces push their way through the Indian country, and destroy their towns to the head of the Illinois river. General Hopkins failed to unite his forces with those of Gov. Edwards owing to the treachery of a guide employed by him. This guide, having a wife amongst the Indians and on friendly terms with the latter himself, led the army from one Indian town to another, which he knew to be abandoned, until the supplies for the troops failed, and Gen. Hopkins was forced to abandon the campaign, and withdraw his forces to the Wabash country. Governor Edwards, having forced his way some distance into the Indian country with only about three hundred men under his command and learning from a prisoner he had captured that there were three hundred warriors in a village he was then approaching, and also that there were six hundred warriors encamped but a short distance from them, and having failed to receive the reinforcement under Hopkins, thought it most prudent, under the circumstances, to retire from the Indian country, which he effected by returning to camp Russel, after having destroyed five Indian towns, and killing twenty-seven of the enemy that became known to us; how many of their dead were carried off by their friends could not be ascertained. In this campaign we had three men wounded, one of whom died shortly after our return to camp Russel, and the other two recovered.

After our return to camp Russel I received my discharge from the service, and returned to my house only to remain but a short space of time. Indian aggressions again called for defenders, and I joined Capt. Samuel Whitesides' Company of Rangers, in which I served twelve months. In the ranging service, each man furnished his own equipments of arms and provisions, and received as compensation one dollar per day. This was an arduous service, being almost constantly on the alert — exposed to the inclemency of the seasons — scouring the country from place to place in the pursuit of lurking savages who were hovering around our settlements. At the close of my service I again rejoined, and continued in the service, in the same company, until the close of the war in 1815, when a cessation of hostilities was effected by a treaty held at the Portage De Sioux ten miles above the mouth of the Missouri, on the Mississippi river, with the several tribes of Indians inhabiting the country on our frontier.

On receiving my discharge from the service, at the close of the war, I returned home, and remained there until the following year, when it became necessary for our company, under Capt. Whitesides, to take the field again for the purpose of guarding a large drove of cattle, then going through the Indian country, to supply the government troops stationed at

forts Madison and Armstrong, and which it was feared might prove too strong a temptation for Indian cupidity to resist. In this excursion I had the misfortune to lose a valuable horse, which was stolen by the Indians, and never recovered.

In the following year we were again mustered into service to protect the surveyors sent to lay out the military land in Illinois. Notwithstanding the Indians had, at the treaty of Portage De Sioux, ceded those lands to the United States, they were determined, if possible, to prevent the white people from occupying them. This they endeavored to effect by following the surveyors, and oblitering the marks on the trees — prostrating the mounds erected on the prairies, and acts of outrage which they did not hesitate to commit, and finally succeeded in robbing the party of their baggage team, when they were compelled to retire to the settlements. On the return of the surveyors to their operations, our company under Capt. Whitesides was called out to protect them from the depredations of the Indians. We remained in this service but a few weeks, being then relieved by a company of United States troops, who arrived, and we were discharged.

This being my last term of service under Capt. Whitesides, it is but justice to him to say — that a better man is seldom found at the head of a company. Active, faithful and vigilant, he was always ready when duty to his country required his services, and in him his men always reposed the utmost confidence in the hour of danger.

When the difficulties commenced with the Winnebago Indians at Prairie Du Chien in 1827 or '28, I was then living in Sangamon County. Information reached us one night about midnight, that the Indians were again committing murders on our frontier, and that it would be necessary for every able bodied man to turn out in defence of the frontier.

Early next morning we repaired to Springfield, to learn the true state of affairs. Finding the prospect for the frontier inhabitants look rather gloomy, I enrolled myself in a company of volunteers commanded by Capt. Rald, under whom we marched to Fort Clark, now Peoria, where we fitted out for the expedition and were put under a forced march to the northward as far as the White Oak Springs, and Galena. This campaign occupied between three and four months, from entering the service until our return to our homes.

In 1832 I had removed to Warren Co., Illinois, when another call was made for volunteers to defend the frontier against the depredations of the Sac and Fox Indians, who had commenced hostilities under Blackhawk. At this call I again turned out for three months, and joined a company commanded by Capt. Peter Butler, who was stationed during this war, at the Yellow Banks, on the Mississippi, now Oquawka. With this campaign ending my services on the frontier, having been actively engaged in all the Indian wars in the State during a period of 20 years. When time drew to a close the term of my enlistment under Capt. Butler I received my discharge

for the last time, from the service, and sought the repose and enjoyments of domestic life.

At that time my pecuniary affairs were in prosperous circumstances — with every prospect of a gradual increase, — even more than could be required to render my situation comfortable through life. While thus enjoying the tide of prosperity, my attention was arrested by the situation of the many orphan children I found existing in our State, and, as too frequently happens, many of them placed in situations in which they can neither enjoy the comforts of life, nor the advantages requisite to qualify them for the duties of the future, which they had the right to claim. Many of them placed in situations where the labours and privations imposed upon them were greater than their physical powers could sustain, and whose services are only rewarded by a bare subsistence during minority, and at maturity turned upon society destitute of all necessary qualifications, often with debilitated constitutions, or minds sunk in depravity by harsh treatment from those having no regard for their future welfare. Minds often susceptible of high cultivation cast loose upon society in worse than Egyptian darkness, to run a career of crime, and end their days in shame. Upon reflecting on the helpless condition of those orphans, destitute of parental care, I resolved to appropriate the means in my possession in establishing a manual labor school, in which I designed collecting all the orphans I could accommodate, who should there find a home and friends, to direct their minds only in acquiring the various branches of an education, but in the varied duties relating to agriculture. With this object in view I arranged my means as I conceived best at the time for commencing my intended asylum. At that time I was in possession of a large tract of land, and other means, which I intended to appropriate for the benefit of the establishment. As the time approached on which I expected to have commenced my operations on such a scale as my means afforded, the Bankrupt law became the law of the land, and those indebted to be availed themselves of its advantages, throwing my arrangements into confusion. To add to my embarrassment, the low prices of produce and scarcity of money which prevailed amongst us at the time prevented my meeting some demands against me. My property was seized by my creditors, who availing themselves of the recently enacted valuation law of our State, succeeded in wrestling it from my possession at a ruinous sacrifice.

During the course of my life, I have assisted in settling the frontier of Illinois from old Kaskaskia town northward to Warren county, a distance of about four hundred miles, being mostly amongst the first who emigrated to new settlements. In these early migrations we encountered five different nations of Indians, all of whom have relinquished their right of soil to the United States, and which is now nourishing under the hand of civilization, being mostly land equal if not superior in productiveness to any portion of our country.

NOTES

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AN ICARIAN EMBARKATION: LE HAVRE TO NAUVOO, 1854

Lloyd Gundy, Wilma Gundy, and Robert P. Sutton*

Among the 186 passengers who boarded the American ship *Ashland* at Le Havre, France, on September 1, 1854 were forty-five immigrants, mostly French, bound for the newly created utopian colony, called Icaria, at Nauvoo, Illinois. Icaria, by then, was a thriving community of over 500 souls who had come to this Mississippi River town to build a model community based on the vision of their founder Etienne Cabet.

Cabet, a controversial French politician and writer who in the 1830s had been arrested and exiled for his criticisms of the government, first elaborated his ideas for a new society in his best-selling *Travels in Icaria,* published in Paris in 1840. In the book Cabet described a fabled land where all citizens lived in harmony and worked as a common family. Icaria was a nation of total concord brought about, according to Cabet, by the elimination of private property, the establishment of political democracy, and the daily practice of the Christian Golden Rule. There was no aristocracy, poverty, or crime. All ate the same food and wore the same style of clothes. There was complete equality between the sexes, even boys and girls received the same education. The end result was the realization, in the words of Cabet's "Prospectus" to the *Travels*, "of the system of social and political equality, of fraternity and of the Community."

By the late 1840s, however, because of threatened reprisals by the French monarchy against the popularity of Cabet's ideas, Cabet decided to build his community in American rather than in France. So, on the morning of February 3, 1848 the first in a series of "Advanced Guard" immigrants left for the United States emboldened by the ideal of a utopia in the New World.

The first communal venture, on the Red River in Texas, was a disaster because of a combination of climate and poor planning. Cabet rallied most of the original 500 Icarians, though, and in the spring of 1849 they

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*Lloyd and Wilma Gundy translated the text of the journal and provided the notes. The introduction is by Robert P. Sutton, Director of the Center for Icarian Studies at WIU.

planted another colony at Nauvoo. Four other Icarias were to follow at St. Louis, Corning (Iowa) and Cloverdale (California). Nauvoo, once the largest city in Illinois, had been laid out by the Mormons in 1839 and for a time was the gathering place for Latter Day Saints from America and Europe. But in 1845, after the murder of their Prophet Joseph Smith, they abandoned the site to search for a New Zion farther west. The Icarians literally bought out the center of the Mormon town and organized a self-sufficient community on the basis of the system put forth in Cabet's *Travels in Icaria*.

For a few years the dream seemed a reality and hundreds of potential colonists came from Europe to join the experiment. In 1856, however, a division over political questions split the community. Cabet and his followers left to start another Icaria at Cheltenham, a suburb of St. Louis. Cabet died in that city in the fall of 1856. The Nauvoo group left Illinois in 1860 for cheaper agricultural land in southwest Iowa, at Corning. There, two colonies were created. And, as an offshoot of the Corning groups, a last Icaria was founded in 1882 at Cloverdale, California some forty miles north of San Francisco.

The journal reprinted below depicts the voyage of one group of potential Icarians to the Nauvoo colony in its heyday. It was published in a promotional pamphlet written by Cabet in 1855 entitled *Prospectus of the Icarian Colony*. Only an extract of the original journal, written by an anonymous colonist, survives since Cabet edited it for publication and himself wrote the first and last paragraphs of that which appeared in print. Both the St. Louis Public Library and the Center for Icarian Studies at Western Illinois University have the pamphlet in their collections.

The translators of the journal, Lloyd and Wilma Gundy, believe that its value for modern readers resides in its depiction of the poignancy of the departure, the trials at sea, and the intense emotion at arriving first at New Orleans and, finally, at Nauvoo. As they have commented in correspondence, "The keeper of the journal, from the twentieth century point of view, seems maudlin and self-righteous, yet these were people intent on nothing less than the creation of new society. If that attempt were to fail, as indeed it did, it was not for the lack of an ideal."

I would like to make known this journal of the latest departure in its entirety, but I am obliged to restrain myself to the most essential passages and those which are able to be useful to the departures which follow:

We left Le Harve the first of September, 1854, about four o'clock in the afternoon by the three-masted American *Ashland*, with a load of 1000 tons, commanded by Captain Stone.[1]

As the moment of departure came, and in the midst of emotions which gripped all hearts, we exchanged embraces, good wishes, and hopes with devoted friends whose jobs would return them to France, while we would proceed onto the land of the Fraternity.

Etienne Cabet during the 1840s.

The ship, already detached from the quay, prepared to leave the bay. A favorable wind and magnificent weather was promising a happy and rapid navigation upon leaving the port. The Commissioner of Departure executed the last steps necessary for leaving. The departing travelers, in order to facilitate the storing of equipment, descended into the lower decks. Here they forgot the fatigues of the embarkment and the emotions of separation in timely and joyous songs.[2]

All seem best disposed. No one counts the cost, no one is afraid. Their courage is equal to their situation.

The sails billow, we hurry to the deck where we contemplate with avidness the spectacle which meets our eyes. Now we are outside the port; the wind puffs out our sails; the ship rapidly gains the open sea. The land seems to flee from us. We distinguish less and less the jetty and the crowd which stands there. The city of Le Havre and the heights which dominate it, and the shores of France salute us for the last time.

But, if we profit from the benefits of navigation, we suffer also inconveniences that it carries with it. A violent wind, a strong swell, and we are overcome by seasickness. After an hour of sailing it manifests itself among most of us. The rare citizens who are spared the illness, are busy in the care they give to the sick, and this with a devotion worthy of praise, while rendering good deeds which our principles impose upon us.

2 September. The health of many of our sick appears definitely restored. Most of the others are also improved. We unload most of our baggage that we stow in the hold, between decks, where it will permit us to draw out our provisions two or three times a week.

The wind, although favorable, remains feeble all day. In the setting sun we perceive the coasts of England, and at night, the lighthouses which illuminate the surroundings.

3 September. Most auspicious circumstances: a sea less agitated, good weather, good air, a tranquil night, appropriate treatment and homemade medicines — all converge to heal the sick. Nevertheless, a group of eight of our brothers or sisters, less fortunate than the others, are still seasick.

Meanwhile, the *Rule for Those on Board,* which was written up, posted, and read by the president, is adopted by the travelers by common accord. This regulation, recognized as useful and indispensable, fixes the hour of rising, of going to bed, of meals, of the lecture, and of free time. It indicates the measures to take for maintaining order, propriety, and decency on board. It recalls the high regard that one ought to have for women and children, the willing treatment that one ought to give the sick, and the fraternal accord that ought to rule between all members of the Family.

In addition, the work on board is organized accoding to the private occupations which each one has. Four men and two women are designated to execute by turns the work that has to be done, such as cooking, daily services, night guard, sweeping, washing dishes, etc. The men do the hardest chores, and especially the cooking. They endeavor as much as possible to apply the strength and aptitudes of each one to the different

needs that such a voyage creates.

4 September. We make an important decision. Following the recommendation of the Paris representative, we have organized into small communities, or sections, for living and eating. The 51 departing travellers from 4 sections of 12-13 persons each. Each section has, before the departure, made its provisions separately; each ought, during the journey, to do its cooking and take its meals in private. Independently of this division, each departing traveller has been authorized to carry his private provisions and to consume them in private or within his family, according to his needs, his tastes or his whim.

This organization into small groups was the result of experience of previous departures. Everyone had to recognize, on the one hand, that a voyage of 3,000 leagues across the ocean and on a river aboard ships and steamboats created an inconvenient situation — difficult, critical, exceptional. On the one hand although the passengers were regenerated by Icarian doctrines they could nevertheless still partly retain the customs, tastes and the temperaments from old habits. Moreover, in testing the community spirit of men without experience, and in circumstances so rigorous, there would be added a new difficulty to all the difficulties that already existed, a situation that was to cause disorders and divisions, to compromise the voyage, and to cause those devoted to the community to dislike it. The best way to escape all these serious problems was to allow each, as much as possible and only during the crossing, the option to satisfy his particular tastes and to continue his domestic customs; to purchase some cooking utensils and several meals. That is to say, departing people were organized into sections or into small communities pending their arrival in Icaria where they would apply our system in all its fertile integrity.

Before the departure a strong desire had been expressed by us for the Community to be applied as a whole during the voyage. But the example of leaders, the authority of Cabet's representative, the alleged reasons in favor of dividing into sections all determined the adoption of this division. In consequence, we leave with the intention to accomplish our voyage following this system of small communities.

At the beginning of our journey, in the middle of disorder, and the annoyance of a thousand material obstacles, seasickness raged among us. To triumph over these obstacles we have a method: the practice of Fraternity! Also we sacrifice ourselves and we dedicate ourselves one for the other and in common; all the work is done together. During these days of trial everything is shared. So we ask ourselves if it would not be more advantageous to adopt the common life and to practice it in a complete manner [for the rest of the voyage]. We began a profound examination of the question.

We know in theory, and see by experience, that the Community is immensely beneficial and it always saves time, trouble, and expense of all kinds in ordinary circumstances and especially in exceptional situations

like our voyage. If the former voyages had not operated perfectly it is not because the travelers shipped out without a full community of supplies, but because they did not apply the Community in its fullness, in all its details and even consistently (like abandon all material things, and practice fraternity and democratic organization). Moreover, progress in everything is a basic rule for Icarians — the new members ought to change themselves by behaving better and better; and we ought to do what our predecessors were not able to do. Likewise, since our successors would have the benefit of our experience they ought to accomplish their voyage in a still more satisfactory manner.

Determined by these considerations we returned to our first organization plan and dissolved the division into four sections. We adopt freely and spontaneously the common life.

5 and 6 September. We navigate in the open ocean. The weather remains beautiful.

The ship *Ashland* carries nearly 200 passengers. The 51 Icarians occupy the back third of the between-decks, and we are separated from the rest of the passengers by a board railing. The women are on one side and the men on the other, in cabins for two. Curtains that extend the length of each side permits everybody to go to the toilet with propriety, all respecting others with decency. If in the between-decks we are separated from the rest of the passengers it is not the same on the deck where everybody circulates freely. There it is not a material, but a moral barrier that exists in the differences of ideas that urge the other passengers toward America. However, the putting in practice of our beautiful doctrine causes the other emigrants inevitably to respect and to esteem us and even to sympathize with us.

But the essential thing for each ought to be intimacy and fraternity with their brother Icarians. As to the other persons who are on board, passengers and equipment, we only relate to them in a way that the necessity and interest of our cause asks us. Living suitable with everybody, not living too familiarly with anyone — this is the line of behavior to which each of us is disposed to conform.

7 and 8 September. Calm nearly complete. The health of our sick ones is restored.

As our children do not do the chores, idleness is everywhere, there is much cause for boredom and many disorders. A professor of singing among us gives them hours of free time of vocal music lessons and our older citizens take part in their exercises. These singing lessons fulfill the desires of the Colony which is that the young receive an education as agreeable as it is useful.

9 September. We attain the latitude of 40th and 41st degree north of Portugal. This is the same latitude as that of Nauvoo and that of the establishment of the Icarian colony in Iowa.[3] The weather is superb.

10 and 11 September. Our sick ones, better lately, do not do as well. Their recovery is slowed by the effect of rough seas.

12 and 13 September. The execution of the regulations seems to produce marvels. Diverse occupations, personal work, general services, all work with harmony.

Morale is high. We sacrifice ourselves and devote ourselves one for the other, and especially for our sick ones who are still seasick. A very pronounced swell hindered us today from going faster.

Our devotion is not limited only to ourselves. Persuaded that all men are our brothers, we extend it to those unfortunate passengers whom we can comfort. Among them, a German lady finds her infant wasting away without being able to help or to take him to others for help. At this news, one of our brothers surrounds this innocent creature with care, calms his suffering, and brings back the smile on his lips already faded by the icy countenance of death.

This humane, charitable, fraternal conduct ought never to leave us. We engender the esteem, sympathy, and even affection of almost all on board.

14 and 15 September. The weather is very beautiful, the wind is good and we sail rapidly.

16 September. The beauty of the weather, a tranquil sea, an agreeable breeze which cools the temperature, the great improvement in the health of our sick ones, and the fraternal harmony which unites us more each day — all converge today to make us forget the pains that beset a long voyage. This day is a day of felicity, a model of the happy existence that will pour into the heart of the Community.

17 September. We advance toward the tropical regions and consequently the heat increases. We double our efforts to maintain on board the greatest cleanliness. By the way we did it we gained a compliment from the first officer.

18, 19, 20, 21 September. The calm which has prevailed for several days, threatening us with a long journey, causes the crew to distribute the water to us in a more miserly fashion. Otherwise we would consume a greater amount of it because of the heat. While waiting for our progress to resume we are forced to ration ourselves.

22 September. The organization of our Commission of Le Havre had been rather irregular. It was formed of section chiefs named each by his own grant. It was composed of four members: Roine the father, Leroy, Reichardt, and Vaudran. It did not have a secretary and the president had been named irregularly. Moreover, the powers of this Commission were very badly defined. In spite of this, the Commission functioned in a satisfactory manner in the preparations for departure under the eyes and direction of the Paris representative.

One time at sea, extreme confusion introduced itself among us because of problems that we ought to have foreseen at the beginning of our journey. By-laws were written up and beneficial measures were given to put an end to this state of things and to regain order.

But if the Commission knew how to adopt measures, it is not as

concerned with observing them. This is easily explained. Citizen Leroy had seasickness since the departure, citizen Vaudan nursed and fed his sick wife, citizen Reichardt did the cooking, and citizen Roine surveyed and distributed rations. Because of these functions the Commission did not convene, did not deliberate, did not take the initiative, and left the Icarians confronted by obstacles that they encountered at every turn and which made them deviate from the true path.

However, several things made up for it, at the least for the time. For example, the by-laws demanded that each had his own duty to place provisions in community, and this sentiment forced each to show himself more obliging and better contain his faults. Thanks to that the by-laws were executed and its execution produced satisfactory results. But then during these last days, because of the lack of initiative on the part of the Commission, each believes himself authorized to give orders. Everybody commands, each believes himself exempt from obeying.

One of the most manifest irregularities of the Commission is that it is composed of four members. In effect, this even number of directors is badly calculated because a majority will be impossible among them. It may very well happen that two members will be of one opinion and the other two members of opposite opinion. In this case, it is clear that the progress of the Commission will be hampered.

They propose to exclude Vaudran from membership on the Commission because of his indifference and shortsightedness in the exercise of his functions. But they prefer to keep him on by making him understand honor and the language of amity. Citizen Leroy offers his resignation to quit when his friends convince him that it will be more harmful than useful to the common interest. They decide instead upon a proposition to add a fifth member to the Commission. They unanimously name the citizen Mercadier to function as secretary.

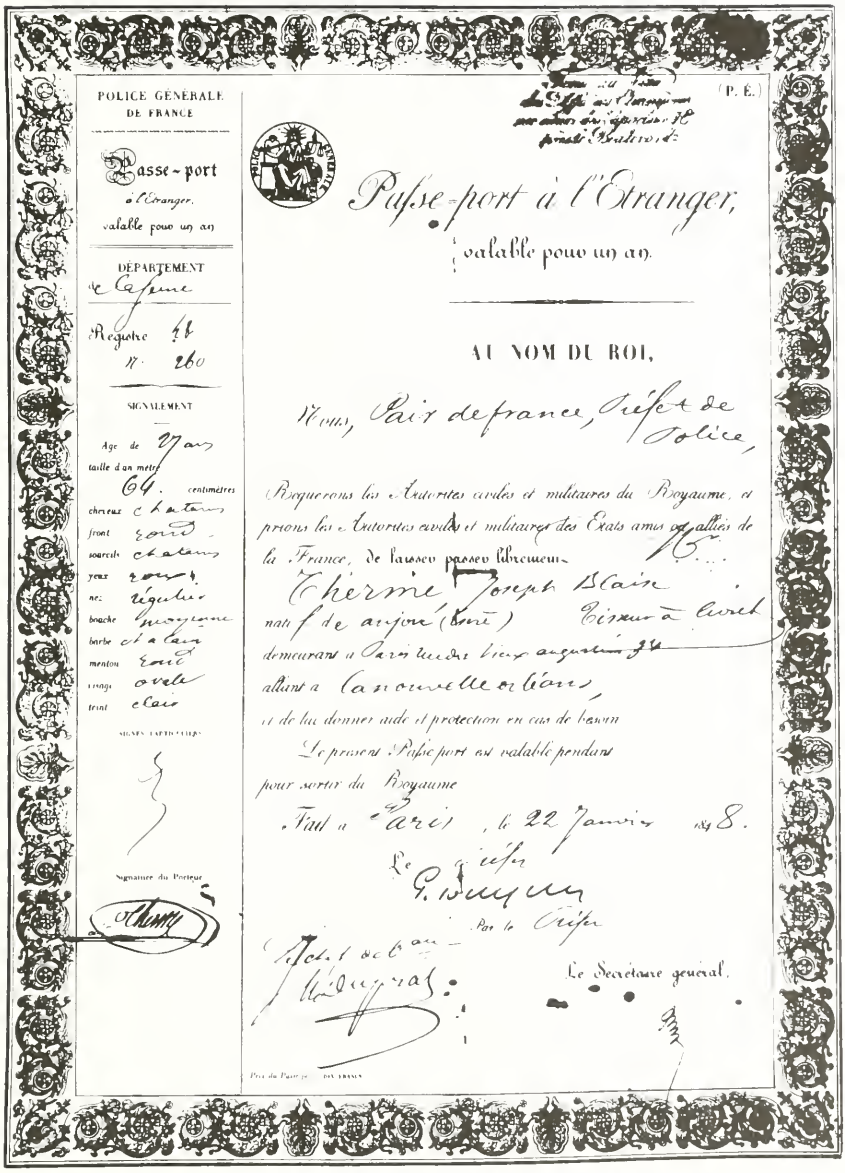
23 September. We overtake the north tropic by the 28th parallel of west longitude. Since yesterday we are in the region of the trade winds which blow constantly from east to west in the direction that we will soon follow.

24 September. If the majority of our co-travellers are sympathetic to us, some among them, although small in number, are hostile.

Among the latter there is one who attacks us in a particular manner. He is a Frenchman, a Parisian. He is much traveled and a fine talker with expansive notions (although superficial), speaks several languages and discourses on every point.

His acts tend only to rouse us to disagreements of all sorts, to injure us in the eyes of the other passengers or the crew, and to foster among us trouble and dissidence. His maneuvers even seem to succeed.

25 September. One of our five directors, citizen Vaudran, is excluded from membership on the Commission and is replaced in his functions by the citizen Gerbet. The proposal of his exclusion is made by the Commission after having taken all the discretion that counsel prudence and fraternity. They were persuaded that all particular considerations



POLICE GÉNÉRALE DE FRANCE

Passe-port à l'Étranger, valable pour un an

DÉPARTEMENT de la Seine

Registre 44 n° 260

SIGNALEMENT

Age de 27 ans
taille d'un mètre 64 centimètres
cheveux châtains
front rond
sourcils châtains
yeux gris
nez régulier
bouche moyenne
barbe châtain
menton rond
visage ovale
teint clair

SIGNES PARTICULIERS

Signature du Porteur

(P. É.)

Passe-port à l'Étranger, valable pour un an.

AU NOM DU ROI,

Nous, Pair de France, Préfet de Police,

Requérons les Autorités civiles et militaires du Royaume, et prions les Autorités civiles et militaires des États amis ou alliés de la France, de laisser passer librement

Thermé Joseph Blaise
né à Angers (Maine-et-Loire) Tisseur à bras
demeurant à Paris rue des Vieux Augustins 34
allant à La Nouvelle Orléans,
et de lui donner aide et protection en cas de besoin.

Le présent Passe-port est valable pendant
pour sortir du Royaume.

Fait à Paris, le 22 Janvier 1848.

Le Préfet
G. Duchâtel
Par le Préfet
Le Secrétaire général.

Prix du Passe-port 50 CENTIMES

An Icarian passport, dated 1848.

ought to erase themselves in the presence of the common good. The general assembly, by ten voices against five,[4] decides that it will be in our total interest to take this severe measure. The reasons are that citizen Vaudran up to this point has shown little seriousness, little discreetness, little subservience to the law, and maintains with his wife continual rapport with the Frenchman who was at issue yesterday. The vote of the assembly does not judge whether the member is or is not a good citizen, will or will not be a good Icarian. It only recognizes that his continued presence on the Commission compromises all the Community.

26 September. The Commission pursues reforms that it has adopted and considers that the majority of its members were named by his section and not by all the citizens. Therefore their election is considered illegitimate, especially starting with the day when the four sections were founded each by themselves. This measure is regarded as necessary and adopted unanimously.

It is important to determine in a clear manner, fixed and invariable, the powers that will be invested in the new Commission.

Our new constitution stands on this democratic base: the Commission is especially charged with initiative. This Commission is the Community guide. Everybody registers his complaints to the members of the Commission. It should not keep any secrets from the assembly, not even temporarily. After having obtained a vote of confidence, it will have a president in charge of the assembly, and a secretary charged with recording the proceedings and unexpected events during the journey. These will be read by the secretary, modified if necessary, adopted and signed by all the citizens, or at least by the majority.

The Assembly will meet at least every three days. No discussion ought to involve personal questions and no one ought to speak of the deliberations of the Society in a manner such that strangers will know of it.

The powers of the Commission thus having been established, they proceed to nominate the five members. The five ex-directors, the citizens Gerbet, Leroy, Mercadier, Reichardt, and Roine are all re-elected almost unanimously.

The Commission selects its officers. They name citizen Roine president, and citizen Mercadier secretary. They will be for the time being president and secretary of the Assembly's Commission and its people.

27, 28, and 29 September. The Assembly reforms the entire work on board. Among the workers is established a lengthy period of rest.

30 September. A general review of our eating provisions certifies that we have enough food in great quantities. Thus, we do not have to dread famine. It is only a matter of consuming provisions moderately and of reconciling our needs with unexpected emergencies which may arise on the journey.

1 and 2 October. The count of the provisions made the day before yesterday, the work of those who sort them and preserve them from decay, and the report of the cooks and men of the work party proves certain

squandering of supplies.

The Assembly, understanding the question, convinced that the Icarians ought to practice in all circumstances order, sobriety, temperance (after consulting their wives) agreed by a great majority: 1. That we will continue to have three meals a day; 2. It will be possible to eat between these meals other things than bisquits or crusts; 3. One drink will be issued within the limits of what is on board. The sick ones and the nursing babies are placed outside these resolutions since nothing ought to be denied our sisters or brothers who are in need or suffer.

3, 4, and 5 October. Revision and definite settlement of all particular accounts is to be between the members of each section or between different persons who have affairs among themselves.

6 and 7 October. Through the transactions and settlement of accounts these last days we have learned that several among us do not have all the necessary money to go to New Orleans or to Nauvoo.[5] This circumstance may compromise their voyage, their future, even their existence. How to relieve them of this embarrassment? How to fill this gap? The application of our principles furnishes us the means. Those who have many assets for the journey propose, and the Assembly adopts, by a fraternal gift, to come to the aid of their brothers whose purse does not respond to the courage and devotion of the saintly cause of Icaria.

8 October. Our seasick ones have been much better for about a week. Their illness is no more than a light disposition but one which becomes painful with the heavy seas.

9 October. An accident happens to a German lady and two are stricken with grave illnesses. We send one of our citizens who, aided by his wife, lavishes them with help and, with as much devotion as intelligence, the different roles of druggist, doctor, and nurse.

11 to 15 October. Nothing remarkable. We pass near the Islands of Santo Domingo and Cuba. The Assembly, which does not fail to meet frequently, has taken these last days different preparations of general interest. Because of concern over public health during the visit that we shall make to New Orleans the Assembly redoubles hygienic precautions because of the tropical heat. Since the water they distribute to us is a little polluted we delay making tea, coffee, and chocolate in order to boil it more frequently than we have in the past.

24 October. This night is one night of expectation. In effect we are impatient to arrive at the end of our journey and to touch the hospitable soil of the American Republic.

At three o'clock in the morning one sees on the horizon the lighthouse of the Balises.[6] At daybreak we distinguish the color of the water of the river, the lowlands of the delta and the stationary tugboats. We raise the flag and one of the tugboats, *Mary-Kingsland,* becomes our escort. At eight o'clock we arrive at the Mississippi and enter it by the eastern arm.

The agreeable emotion that we feel keenly will be difficult to describe. Our indispositions disappear as if by magic. Our joy is redoubled at the

reading of the news from Europe and American that the pilot of the Balises lighthouse brought to the captain.

We are visited briefly by the customs agent and the doctor. We remove our effects from the hold while the enormous *Mary-Kingsland*, of 500 horsepower, steers itself majestically toward the end of its destination. We are still about 150 miles from New Orleans.

We cast a last glance on that sea we have crossed and we reflect. We think that the sea is no longer a barrier but a means of communication and that in all cases nothing ought to discourage men disposed to brave all in the interest of humanity. When so many of the emigrants cross the seas out of ambition, greed, or adventure, would not an Icarian cross them for devotion? The prospect of the crossing would no longer be an obstacle to the Icarian Community.

25 October. We go rapidly up the river whose low banks are covered with greenery and small trees among which show the simple cabins of fishermen. Then, finally, at five o'clock in the morning we enter into the beautiful port of New Orleans.

The impatience to arrive at Nauvoo, the question of money, the condition of the weather because of cold and river ice in the north, the yellow fever which exerts its last ravages of the year[7] — all this pushes us to expedite quickly our affairs and to leave New Orleans at the earliest possible time.

26 October. We have slept on board the *Ashland*. We work on the transfer from his ship to the steamboat *Columbus* on which we will go up the Mississippi as far as St. Louis.[8]

Our general affairs, or private affairs, demand activity and information of all sorts. The representative at New Orleans, the citizen Duthy, accompanies us everywhere and informs us on all points. His experience and devotion have been a great help to us.

27 October. We sleep on the *Columbus*. We buy some provisions, mainly fresh bread and fresh meat. We leave New Orleans at six o'clock in the evening after a visit of two and one-half days. The citizen Vaudran left the ship, parting with the French man the same evening of our arrival without saying a word to us.

28 October. We pass the confluence of the Red River. We call it the *avant-garde*. We are excited, we increase our devotion to the first soldiers of the Icarian cause.[9]

30 October. The steamboat sails very rapidly. The large river on which we travel to Icaria is the object of admiration. Wide as an arm of the sea, profound as the ocean, the Mississippi justifies its reputation and one comprehends why the Indians named it "The Father of Waters."

31 October. Two Alsacien Germans, a young girl and a young man, who have made the journey aboard the *Ashland* and who find us again aboard the *Columbus*, tell us that because of our propaganda and especially our exemplary conduct, they have decided to go to Icaria. They ask us to be

part of our number at St. Louis. The Assembly honors favorably their request.

1, 2, 3, November. We continue to go up the Mississippi without any accident.

4 November. We arrive at St. Louis at six o'clock in the morning. The steamboat is immediately in communication with the port. We redouble the surveillance of our baggage. In spite of that, the greatcoat of citizen Leroy with a value of 21 francs is stolen.[10]

We rent the packet *Editor.*[11] We unload and load our effects. We leave St. Louis at four o'clock in the afternoon after a visit of twelve hours.

5 and 6 November. At midnight, the 6th, we arrive at Keokuk, which is located 228 miles from St. Louis and where the steamboats generally stop. The citizen Roine, the father, Cottet,[12] and Didier leave in succession to go notify the Colony of our arrival.

The two Germans who have asked to be Icarians, who came with us (and would do well with us), are worried by compatriots, who shake their conviction and their resolution, not yet firm. They convince them to redescend the river to go to Louisville where a sister of the young woman lives.

The group takes a great decision on the subject of tobacco. They have not taken a chew on the voyage. They did not smoke on the journey. They did smoke some cigars on the *Columbus.* Several have taken snuff. Those who have used, or still use, tobacco renounce it forever. The snuff boxes are thrown in the water.

We unload our baggage on the dock, where we light a large bivouac fire to protect us against the cold.

The city of Keokuk is 12 miles from Nauvoo. It is built on the right bank of the river whereas Nauvoo is located on the left bank. Because of the distance and the difficulty for the flat boat to descent the river and go back up again we arrive at Nauvoo, some on the 6th, others the 7, 8, and 9. We rejoice that all of us are in good health.

The sight of Nauvoo startles us with joy! Its situation is one of the happiest of all the country through which the Mississippi runs. The flourishing state of the Colony generally passes our expectations.

We have attained the end of our journey. Wishes are realized. No longer do we have to travel with ardor and devotion for the prosperity of our dear Icaria.

The 51 participants reduced to 45 by the retreat of Vaudran, his wife and 2 children, and that of Madame Alexandra and her daughter, have been unanimously admitted, temporarily, as members of the Community, 18 November, 1854.

The President of the Community,
Cabet

NOTES

[1]U.S. National Archives, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1820-1875,* (Microfilm in New Orleans Public Library). In addition to passengers and their baggage, the *Ashland* carried a large cargo which included 350 cases of sardines, 300 baskets of champaign, and 236 barrels of herring, according to the *New Orleans Bee,* Oct. 26, 1854, "Marine News," classified section, col. 1.

[2]One authority has observed that many new utopian ideas of the nineteenth century in France were spread by songs, some probably appropriate to sing at the time of Icarian departure. See Theodore Zeldin, *France: 1848-1945,* (London, 1973), I; 432.

[3]In 1852, the colony at Nauvoo had sent a small group of settlers to form another Community near Corning, Iowa.

[4]Women did not receive the franchise in France until 1944. Therefore, assuming a full quorum of adult males, we conclude that 15 adult males and 36 women and children made up the Icarian party.

[5]One man's financial resources amounted to 4 cents upon arrival in New Orleans. Felicie Cottet Snider, "A Short Sketch of the Life of Jules Leon Cottet, a Former Member of the Icarian Community", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 7 (October, 1914), 207.

[6]"The Balises", a lighthouse and customs station at the pass to the Mississippi, was named after a French garrison situated there in the late seventeenth century.

[7]The *New Orleans Picayune,* Oct. 25, 1854, carried a report of Yellow Fever in Geogia and South Carolina. The disease was a legitimate concern at this time.

[8]The *Columbus* was advertised as follows in the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin,* Oct. 27, 1854, classified section, col. 6: "For St. Louis, Cairo and Memphis — The elegant, swift running passenger steamer, *Columbus,* Capt. W.H. Fulton, will leave as above, on this day, the 27th instant, at 12 o'clock M. For freight or passage having splendid accomodations, apply on board, or to John E. Hyde & Co., 14 Poydras St. A plan of her cabins can be seen and staterooms secured on application to the agent."

[9]The first attempt at settlement by the Icarians in the United States was made in 1848. This adventure was made along the Red River in Texas. It ended badly and survivors retreated to New Orleans.

[10]Cabet warned against theft while giving instructions and advice to future emigrants in his *Prospectus:* "Thefts are very frequent on the ships and on the boats. Take care. Name a committee to watch the baggage." p. 46.

[11]The *Editor:* A boat of 247 tons having been built in 1851. *Lloyd's Steamboat Directon, 1856* (Cincinnati, 1856). Of her, a newspaper editor of St. Louis writes, under "River News": ("Fri. Nov. 3, 1854. For Keokuk. Once more we have to notice the fact of the intended departure of the steamboat *Editor,* and we do it with a hearty pleasure, that we may be the means of preventing some decent people from getting themselves cramped up on board some close, uncomfortable little boat, on

which they would probably have to pay as much as on the *Editor*. This boat leaves for Keokuk and way places this evening, and is well furnished in all that can conduce to the pleasure of her passengers on the trip. Captain Smith is an experienced river man, and Mr. Riley, the clerk, is an excellent fellow, which fact travelers should remember." *Daily Missouri Democrat,* Nov. 3, 1854. The boat departed, in fact on Saturday, Nov. 4, according to the Icarian *Journal*.

[12]For a biography of Cottet, see Snider, op. cit., pp. 200-17.

PEORIA'S REACTION TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

Christopher Phillips

Americans were ready for a fight. The decades which preceded the outbreak of the Civil War saw both political and personal confrontation between those who differed in their beliefs over "that peculiar institution," slavery. The debate over slavery manifested itself in every facet of society, from politics to social conversation. The result was a chasm in the very core of the American democracy. Political decisions were made more on the basis of the balance between slave and free states than on individual issues. A key political ploy, made infamous by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, was to develop a "compromise" between the warring factions in Congress. However, this strategy seemed only to prolong the inevitable, both ruining his career and insuring the election of Republican upstart Abraham Lincoln, which in turn incensed the Southern states enough to secede from the Union. A series of acts, beginning with South Carolina in December, 1860, and culminating in North Carolina's withdrawal in May, 1861, set into motion the greatest conflict the United States had yet been involved in, and often threw brother against brother as people were forced to choose between national and state loyalties.

Peoria, Illinois suffered less in this respect than other cities in the nation, primarily because of strong Union sentiments in central Illinois and widespread loyalty to the Illinois President. Though long a Democratic stronghold, the Republican contingent in Peoria helped greatly to carry Lincoln in the 1860 election, even though the country itself swayed slightly toward the Democratic candidate, Douglas, favoring him with less than 55% of the vote.[1] However, this sway in the vote did not affect the enthusiasm with which Peorians reacted to the news of the Confederate assault on Fort Sumter. Though the firing began at 4:00 a.m. on the morning of April 12, 1861, a severe storm apparently hampered telegraph messages to the office in Peoria, and the news finally reached there early in the morning of April 13, only after being repeated three times due to the "demoralized" condition of the wires.[2] It took little time from the public announcement of the attack until Peoria men offered their services to the defense of their country. Business in the city was largely suspended, with

throngs gathering in the streets to revel in the unexpected, yet long awaited news. According to the *Daily Transcript,* "The city was thrown into a state of intense excitement, and the first flag was flung out from the Armory of the National Blues in Murphy's Hall, on Adams street, opposite the Court House, and was greeted by the populace with cheers."[3] Soon speeches were called for by city officials and prominent citizens, the first of which was supposedly delivered by Mr. Julius Manning, a local lawyer who kept an office on Main Street and who was apparently on his way there. He was accosted and requested to make a statement on his position regarding the bombardment as he was a prominent Democrat and had endorsed Senator Douglas in the last election. He appeared shortly on the balcony of his office, and, "in a few short, impassioned and eloquent sentences, unequivocally declared himself for the Union, the Constitution and the flag of the country, pledging himself to support the authorities in putting down what he fully realized to be a formidable rebellion."[4]

Although this gathering was impromptu, its effect was more like that of a rally: cheering, parading and volleys of musketry. A local "social" organization, "The National Blues," was called upon to march in full dress uniform to the Court House Square, plant a fifty-foot flag staff and run the United States flag up its length amid cheers of the spectators and more volley by the Blues. Flags were then hoisted at City Hall, the Engine Houses, and at other public buildings, not to mention the numerous private residences around the city.[5]

Peoria, though long a bastion of Democratic support, seemed to unite for the common cause of Unionism. According to Gerald T. Kelch, "Now that war had created a common enemy, only a few days were necessary to see all political differences evaporate."[6] Even the *Peoria Democrat Union,* normally outspoken in its criticism of Republican philosophies and of Lincoln in particular, published this in the Tuesday, April 16th edition:

> The defamity which now befalls the country is what we predicted before the election of Mr. Lincoln, but his . . . supporters, who had the undeniable right to differ from us in opinion, were too infatuated in their views to ours. They now see their folly, and we are disposed to help them in counteracting its effects. The union is divided, treason had armed itself in rebellion against the government, and the patriot, whatever his opinion regarding the causes which have had this result, can hesitate in his efforts to turn back the tide of rebellion and treason . . .
>
> The country, the whole country, and nothing but the country, — let that be the motto of every citizen . . . The Federal Union: by the Eternal, it must and shall be preserved.[7]

The most current news reports coming in from Washington and Springfield were rushed to the eager public, as described by the *Daily Transcript:* "Transcript Extras will be furnished along the railroad routes [sic] leading from this city, at all stations by the news boys on the cars. People wishing the latest news will be promptly furnished by being on hand when the train is due.[8]

The air of excitement was furthered on Sunday the 14th as various ministers used their pulpits to further condemn the rebellious states and to plead with the young men of their respective congregations to take arms and avenge the unprovoked attack on and subsequent surrender of the noble warriors under Major Anderson in Fort Sumter. Their pleas were hardly necessary to encourage these actions, for on Monday, April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteer militia from the remaining Union states, of which the Illinois quota was to be six regiments, totalling 6,000 men.

That night, a meeting was held at the courthouse, called to order by Lysander R. Webb, an editor of the *Peoria Daily Transcript.* The mayor of Peoria, William A. Williard, was called to the chair,[9] and it was decided that Peoria, both Democrats and Republicans, would officially support the United States government, and that local recruits would be only for that government's army. Several stirring addresses were made, and presently a roll was opened for recruits, to which "forty-seven names were attached, that of Jacob Corwin Hansel being first."[10] This small, yet auspicious signing signalled the beginning of Peoria'a military contribution to the Civil War, and was taking place at the same time that Governor Richard Yates was calling for the six regiments from Illinois.

On Tuesday, April 16th, the *Daily Transcript* evoked the patriotic fervor of the past several days with a description of the scene: "The excitement in our city, for the past few days, has exceeded anything ever before known. Yesterday people paid little attention to business, but thronged the streets awaiting extras containing the news. National flags were flung out and patriotic demonstrations broke forth on all hands; party and party feeling were swallowed up on one united determination to stand by the Union, the Constitution, the stars and stripes. Glorious harbinger!"[11] The day saw no major gatherings or public meetings, as it seemed mainly focused on recruitment. Over 200 men offered themselves in the first twenty-four hours after the recruiting started. Only ten of those failed to pass their physicals.[12] The next few days saw the newspapers carrying numerous announcements of meetings and subsequent recruitment of men into existing military companies within the city. Among the earliest in the *Daily Transcript* were these:

> An adjourned meeting of the Zouave Cadets will take place this evening in one of the rooms belonging to Baker's Photograph Gallery . . . All members of the company are earnestly requested to be present, as this meeting will be an important one. — Such an organization in times like these, is eminently worthy the consideration of the young men of our city. Turn out, this evening boys;[13]
>
> The armory of the Emmet Guards in Bergen's Hall near the corner of Bridge street and Washington, will be kept open from 7 ½ o'clock P.M. until 10 o'clock P.M. every evening for the purpose of obtaining accessions to the ranks of this company, and for the purpose of drilling.[14]

Editorial comments were printed to incite recruitment: "Our Peoria boys

must, therefore, 'get up and dust,' if they expect to have a hand in."[15]; and signs were posted for the same reason; "Attention! The Armory of the National Blues will be open at 9:00 a.m. and continue open until further notice for the enlistment of volunteers."[16]

There were, however, no difficulties in locating prospective recruits; there had been several local assemblages which had been organized for social purposes but had done so with military overtones. The units had officers with military rankings, uniforms of military style and cut, and met on a regular basis to conduct drills with weapons taken straight from the military manual of arms. Though their original intentions were to gather merely for exercise and amusement, they now found themselves in a position quite different than a typical Saturday night gathering, that of being propelled into actual conflict. However, the groups responded with remarkable swiftness and unity. The earliest and best-known of these, in chronological order, were the National Blues, the Emmet Guards, the Peoria Guards and the Peoria Zouave Cadets. Of these the most noted was the National Blues.

Recruitment was not done as we are accustomed to today, however. The organization of a company and even a regiment of volunteers was usually the goal of a patriotic individual who also was typically endowed with substantial assets of capital. The early months of the war saw these patriots competing with one another for the signatures of the prospective volunteers. They opened enlistment stations throughout the downtown area; in stores, professional offices, and public offices. They most often used the newspapers, paying for the advertisements themselves, so as to lure the recruits. Often the success of the recruiter was dependent on his popularity and rapport. There was a great deal of time spent on the street shaking hands and passing cigars. The effort was both exhiliarating and political in nature; it was also exhausting. Of course, all of this work did not go without reward: the recruiter was generally given a commission as the commander of the unit he put together. However, after paying to outfit and arm the entire unit, this seems a small return on his investment.

On July 12, 1856 a roll was started at Peoria County for the purpose of forming a military organization. Many local men contributed to the uniforming and equipping of the company, and donations ranged from five to as much as fifty dollars. The group took the name "National Blues" and at its first election chose Charles E. Dennison as Captain and John Bryner as First Lieutenant.[17] The group numbered at that time sixty-four men, to which more enlistees were later to join, until the ranks exceeded 100 men.[18] By the outbreak of the war the National Blues had dwindled slightly in numbers but still remained by far the largest of the social-military groups in the area.

In its earliest days, the members of the Blues had decided to march in a minimum of four annual parades: the Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday, the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, and St. Patrick's Day.[19] Thus they became a public fixture, gaining both admiration and

membership while gaining military experience at weekly meetings. There was a sense of great pride and cohesion in this group, and the outbreak of hostilities gave the men the chance that many had dreamed about. Captain Dennison's company enlisted their services at the first night meeting in the Court House, and was the first company from Peoria to be accepted by the Governor as part of Illinois' official quota, just hours after the initial call for volunteers. The Emmet Guards were ready a short time later, while the Zouave Cadets began official recruitment on the night of the meeting.

Recruitment grew rapidly during the next several days, and several major political meetings took place. One, held in Chicago, called for $1,000,000 for the raising of 100,000 men to put down the rebellion. The other, at the Peoria courthouse, heard strong speeches by several prominent Democrats pledging their support to the Union war effort. An article in the *Daily Transcript* described the excitement: "The war spirit in Peoria rose yesterday to fever heat. The headquarters of the volunteers were crowded throughout the day. In the morning the German Turners, to the number of forty stalwart men, marched with fife and drum to the Blues' headquarters and volunteered . . . . Drills were organized and last night Blues' hall and several others were opened as drill rooms for recruits. The anxiety of the men to get into the company already accepted exceeds anything we ever saw before."[20]

On Friday, April 19th, it was announced that the second company of the National Blues, only twelve hours old, was completely full and was to be submitted to Governor Yates for approval, but the quota had already been filled. The group stood undaunted and waited until there was another call for volunteers.[21]

The first thirty days of the war saw not only organization of volunteer army units in Peoria, but also of local "Home Guard" units. These units were organized for each of the four wards of the city, and the men of the military units helped in the drilling of these local groups.

Peoria had accumulated a sizeable German population in the years before the war, as had many other cities in the western territories after the revolutions in Prussia and surrounding Germanic states in 1848. Most of these German immigants, especially those from Prussia, had mandatory military training in their mother country. In 1815, all states of the German Confederation required males who had reached the age of twenty to enlist and serve three years of active duty in the army, with an additional two years in the reserves. For the next fourteen years each man was required to be an active member of the "Landwehr," or national guard. After this term of service, at age thirty-nine, the men were members of the "Landstrum" or militia. This term of service expired at death.[22] For this reason, the immigrants to Peoria made perfect recruits, particularly if their financial prospects were less than optimistic, and a private's salary was $11 a month. Many recruits also proved to be excellent drill masters, and with only a fair amount of difficulty due to the language barrier, had many

of the raw country boys performing the "goose step" with great precision. In fact, of the original recruits for Company E of the 8th Illinois, 34 of the 82 sworn in were originally from Germany.[23]

One of the most important resolutions during this period of time was the decision by the city's Board of Supervisors to appropriate $10,000 to equip the soldiers from the city with uniforms, equipment and arms and to provide for the families of those who might be in financial need as a result of the loss of the family's principal supporter due to his enlistment in one of Peoria's volunteer companies.[24] These measures added greatly to the already growing list of volunteers.

On Saturday, April 20th, 1861, Dennison's Company of National Blues was mustered in as Company "E" of the 8th Illinois Regiment of U.S. Infantry in front of Senator Bestor's residence on Main Street, opposite the courthouse. The event was preceeded by patriotic speeches and solos, and "three cheers were given for the Union, three for the ladies, three for the stars and stripes, and three for the Peoria Volunteers."[25] The next day saw a great gathering at Parmely's Hall on Adams Street at 3:00 p.m., at which time the two companies thus far mustered were present. Next morning found the courthouse square "filled with squads of volunteers practicing the various military evolutions, but for want of a sufficient quantity of firearms, it was found impracticable to drill all the men in that brand of tactics."[26] Members of the National Blues, so as to be of greater service to the army, had decided to offer themselves individually to the U.S. government, and thus be dispersed among several companies. As the group had been training for over four years, they now performed a valuable service, assisting in the training of new recruits. Each man was able to take a squad and instruct them in both the manual of arms and school of the soldier. This greatly facilitated the efforts to train the recruits as well as possible in the short amount of time they had been in service.

At the time that the Blues had organized, and for a short while after, the tactics used by the military, and by the "social" companies which followed their example, were methods developed by General Winfield Scott, then the highest ranking officer in the United States Army. However, these tactics seemed very slow and deliberate, with measured time and stately movement. Therefore, when a new set of military drill tactics was prepared by Major William J. Hardee in 1856,[27] they were eagerly accepted by most military units. It is ironic that Hardee was commissioned to write this manual of tactics by then-Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, who later became the President of the Confederacy. It is even more ironic that Hardee was commissioned a colonel in the Confederate Army in February, 1861, and then a brigadier-general in June of the same year.[28] The Blues were thoroughly familiar with the new methods of drill, and the lessons given the recruits by the "old" veterans proved invaluable to the training of Peoria recruits.

Aside from the normal drill routines, others had instructions they wished to give to the soon-departing troops. An old Mexican War veteran advised

the boys, in the *Daily Transcript*, "to let their beards grow to protect their throats and lungs, and cautioned them against the use of pork and coffee in a hot climate, as he found them deadly in Mexico."[29]

It was on Monday, April 22nd, that a surprising turn of events came about. A dispatch was sent to the Governor, which read as follows:

Peoria, April 22, 1861

To Governor Yates:

With your permission I will raise a regiment of one thousand men to be ready on call. Will you accept?

R. G. Ingersoll[30]

The brashness of the message was audacious to start with, but when viewed in the light that Ingersoll, a twenty-eight-year-old lawyer and Democrat, had lately been defeated in the Illinois Congressional race, the offer was spectacular, albeit hard to believe. But Ingersoll fully intended to make good his claim, and he came extremely close, as will be presented later. The offer, however, was not accepted at that particular time.

The departure of the first ninety-six Peoria recruits took place on Wednesday, April 24, 1861, when Captain Dennison's First Company of National Blues marched to the train depot, escorted by Captain Addison S. Norton's Second Company of Blues, the Emmet Guards, the Peoria Zouaves, and a large procession of the local patrons. The entire group was led by two loud brass bands. The men were equipped with the accoutrements which had been furnished to them when they first began drilling with the company. They were armed not only with their muskets — converted flintlocks — but also with revolvers and knives presented to them by solicitous citizens eager to see them "kill plenty of Rebs." The immense number of citizens were not treated to any formal speeches, but cheered on the departing heroes as they boarded the train bound for Springfield.

The train pulled out at 11:45 a.m. on the Logansport, Peoria and Burlington Railroad, amid boisterous shouts, handkerchief waving and other demonstrations of encouragement by the throngs. The Cecilian Brass Band accompanied them to their destination and returned the next day. A hanger on the center car of the train broke just west of Washington, causing a delay of nearly one hour, but when the problem had been alleviated, they continued onward. While passing through the railroad stations in Washington, Crugar, Eureka and Secor, they were greeted by large crowds who loudly voiced their approval. At El Paso, citizens turned out en masse, complete with fife and drum, to give an enthusiastic reception. Because of the delay, the group reached Chenoa later than planned, and the regular train which they had intended to take to Springfield had already passed. They then waited for the next on the schedule. Captain Dennison had planned for the group to dine in Bloomington, but the delays caused that also to be cancelled, and Mr. Samuel Emery of the Chenoa Eating House was unexpectedly required to

furnish "grub" for the entire company of ninety-six. The group was apparently fed to satisfaction and boarded the next train, loaded with volunteers from farther north in Illinois. That train, of the Chicago and Alton Railroad, carried them south to Springfield, where they arrived early the next morning."[31]

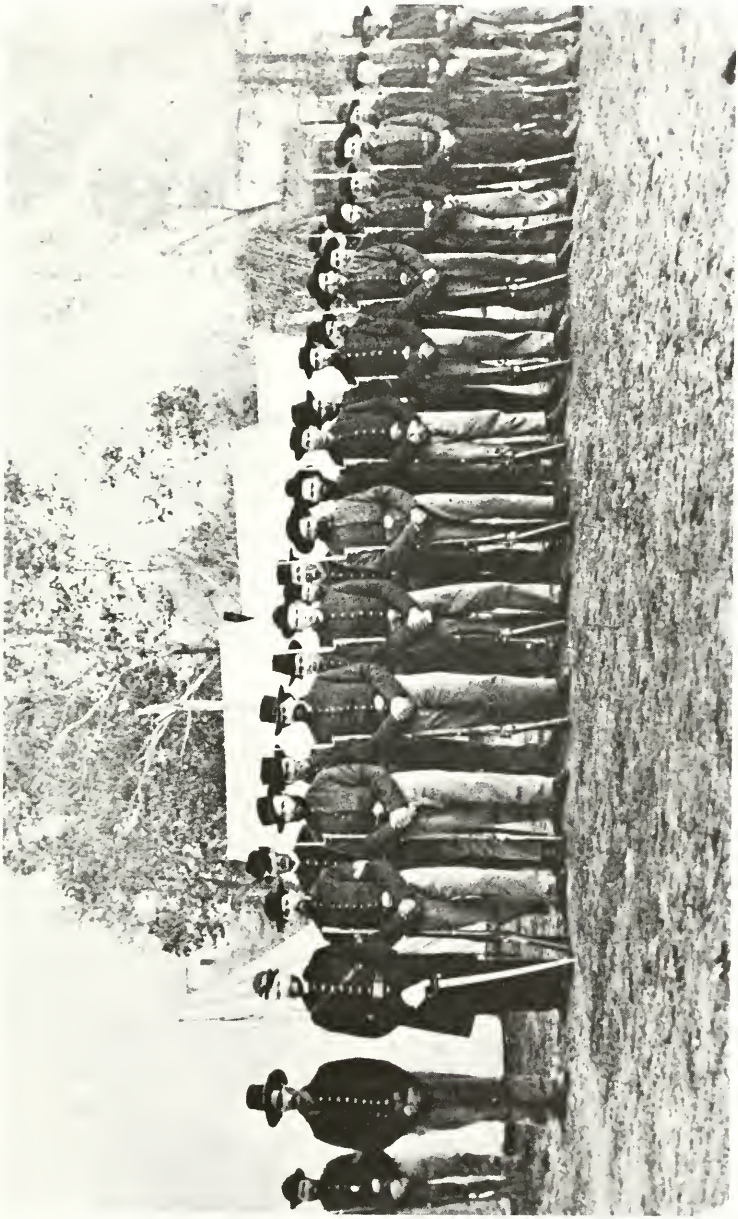
When the men were to be officially mustered in at Springfield, it was discovered that only sixty-four of those who had made the journey would be accepted. To comply with this, Dennison set aside thirty-two of the least well-outfitted members of the company, and the rest were mustered into service for ninety days as Company E, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry under Colonel Richard J. Oglesby. The remaining thirty-two either joined other companies or returned to Peoria and waited for an opportunity to rejoin the original company at a later date. These men were given a monthly pay and told to await a later call. No explanation could be found as to why only two-thirds of the company could be mustered.

The next several weeks saw a great deal of intense activity as recruits clamored to become part of the adventure which they had witnessed on the 24th. Two weeks of the "war" had elapsed, and men all over the city and the country were rushing to stake their claim in the excitement which might be over in a matter of days. The *Daily Transcript* on the 26th stated that there were at present five companies of volunteers fully organized and drilling.[32] On Monday, April 29, three double wagon loads of volunteers came from Brimfield, the majority of whom joined the Zouave Cadets company.[33] On that day, the Peoria Light Artillery officially organized and elected officers. The unit, later made up of two batteries, soon received guns made locally at the Coles foundry.

On May 3, 1861, President Lincoln issued a second call for volunteers, 42,000 men for a three-year term and 20,000 for a five-year term of service. Of those, ten regiments were to be raised in Illinois. The Governor, on May 7, designated that Peoria be the place of rendevous for the units of the fourth Congressional District, of which it was a part. This allowed for many of those who had not been accepted at the first call to now pledge their services. However, the Zouave Cadets, who had filled their ranks by the first of May, did not, for some reason, choose to answer this call. They crossed the Mississippi River and enlisted with the 8th Missouri, which still had room for more recruits in its ranks. However, Frank Peats, who had been voted to be the captain of the unit upon arrival in St. Louis, chose to decline the offer. This resulted in disorganization of the regiment to such a degree that only about half of the original group actually enlisted, while the remaining forty returned to Peoria and started a new company. The Emmet Guards had received communication from Captain James Mulligan, and has passed a motion to join the "Illinois Irish Brigade," provided the brigade was called up collectively before the company itself be called. However, that never came to be.[34]

The decision to make Peoria a staging city set into motion a whirlwind of activity within the city. The county fairgrounds, directly west of the

Officers of the 17th Illinois Infantry Regiment, the first unit mustered in Peoria and trained at Camp Lyon. Photograph courtesy of Spooner Library of the Peoria Historical Society.



Members of Company A, 17th Illinois Infantry Regiment. Captain E. E. Ryan, Company Commander, is third from left. Photograph courtesy of Spooner Library of the Peoria Historical Society.

entrance to Glen Oak Park, were secured for the military camp, and the place soon began to take on just that look. Only one company, Norton's Blues, had been accepted by the government for muster at the time of the Governor's decision, so there was a need for units to be stationed at the new camp. The Fulton Blues, under Captain Leonard F. Ross, was the first to go into camp in Peoria, arriving on Saturday, May 11. In the meantime, Captain A. S. Pattock was selected as mustering officer to the encamped regiments. Pattock chose Abraham H. Ryan, later to become the captain of Company A of the 17th Illinois, as Camp Adjutant, and Clark D. Rankin as Medical Examiner. It was Pattock who probably designated Peoria's camp as Camp Mather on or around May 15.[35]

By the 26th of May, Camp Mather had enough enlisted men stationed within its limits that an entire regiment was, on that day, mustered into service of the United States by Captain John Pope of the Union Army. The unit, of which Companies A and B were from Peoria County, was designated the Seventeenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. This was the first full regiment encamped in Peoria, and, of course, the first mustered in at Camp Mather. The induction of the unit into the service of the country was the first chance for the people of Peoria to see an actual "regular army" officer, Captain Pope, which generated much excitement in the community. Company A, under the command of Colonel Addison S. Norton, was the second company of the "National Blues." This company had been outfitted with the help of the citizens of Peoria, who raised $900 in donations for their uniforms and equipment in just one day. Local ladies had made a portion of the company's uniforms, the material having been ordered from Chicago. The knapsacks were manufactured from the old oilskin capes of the "Wide Awakes," a political club of the Lincoln campaign.[36] An article in the *Daily Transcript* called for another such effort for yet another company to be raised in the city:

> . . . Capt. Davidson's company are now formally accepted and will probably receive orders to move in a few days. Most of the men are in the same condition that Norton's company was in. If not uniformed by the citizens, they will be obliged to leave the ranks or march in civilian's dress, which is not capable of withstanding the wear and tear of camp life, besides being, in most cases, too light for protection against storm and inconvenient for drill. They certainly have as much claim on the liberality of the people as company A or B, of the National Blues, and we trust a movement will speedily be made to put upon them an equality with the other companies which have been organized in this city.[37]

All of these companies continued to move into Camp Mather at a steady rate, and the camp soon took on an extremely crowded look. A call also came for extra beds to be used in the camp hospital. There was a great deal of sickness, due partially to damp ground and cool temperatures, but mostly because of the recruits' lack of experience in sleeping outdoors every night. The food was not as nourishing as it had been at home, and that also probably contributed to the sickness in the camp.

Visiting delegations arrived daily from neighboring communities to present company flags and, as was the custom, swords, sashes, or uniforms to commanding officers of the stationed companies. A *Daily Transcript* article on May 18 reported a collection being taken by the community for a sword for Captain Dennison, who had already left. It was to be purchased from a Charlie Dean of No. 7 Adams Street.[38] Many of the ladies of the towns brought dinners to the men in camp, and there were numerous Bible presentations from the American Bible Society. On May 18, Captain Norton's company was presented ninety English and twelve German New Testaments in preparation for their departure to the "front lines."[39] Loved ones often brought sewing kits filled with needles and thread to give to men who had probably never used one before in their lives, much less anything smaller than a "pitchfork, plow handle or blacksmith's hammer."[40] One fair lady sent a "quantity of small feather pillows because she thought they would be light for the boys to carry on the march."[41] In fact, the numbers of the visitors grew to be so large that the camp officials published a notice in the city newspapers on May 18 that there would be no visitors allowed within the premises of the camp before two o'clock in the afternoon, and that teams would not be permitted within the enclosure at all.[42] It was estimated that during one week in May fully 5,000 civilians entered the camp for various reasons.[43]

Daily life at Camp Mather was quite typical of a military camp, with drilling and detail continually in progress. The food seemed to be to the liking of the soldiers. Many were from the Peoria area, and there were constantly friends and relatives bringing "goodies" and condiments for the soldiers' consumption. As in every permanent army camp, there were interesting and unusual occurrences in Camp Mather during its existence. An Irishman, Maurice Dee, was killed when he trusted the marksmanship of a fellow combatant to the extent that he allowed the sharpshooter to aim at a tin cup perched on Dee's head. A large bonfire at night led to the rumor of an attempted conflagration. Some boys digging for a rabbit near the powder house in Birket's Hollow, located near the camp on the outskirts of the city, caused a widespread investigation as to the possibility of traitors attempting to seize the powder stored there. A boat passing up the river caused great consternation as rumors spread that the request by the boat for provisions was Rebel-instituted. A great chain was drawn across the river to prevent the return passage of the vessel. A large crowd stood near the chain to watch for the boat, but it grew dark before anything was seen. Finally, a light seemed to appear, and there was an air of great excitement. However, the light was merely a farmer across the water burning stumps.[44] The soldiers who camped on the level prairie of Camp Mather often got fresh milk from cows in Birket's Hollow, but the farmer apparently did not appreciate the men's thirsts.[45]

June 10, 1861 saw the departure of the 17th Illinois from the camp. Its destination was Alton. The soldiers boarded the steamers Sam Gaty and LaSalle, which carried them to their new location. The regiment's place

was soon taken by more companies of volunteers. All told, there were ten regiments of infantry (the 17th, 47th, 77th, 85th, 86th, 102nd, 103rd, 108th, 112th, and the 139th), one regiment of cavalry (the 11th Illinois, organized by Robert Ingersoll, who had pledged to do so in his letter to the Governor earlier in the war), and one battery of artillery (Davidson's Peoria Independent Battery) organized in Peoria during the duration of the war. On August 17, 1861, the name "Camp Mather" was dropped in favor of "Camp Lyon." The new name was in honor of General Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the first major battle in the western theatre, at Wilson's Creek, just south of Springfield, Missouri, on August 10. This name was maintained throughout the remainder of the war.

It would be impossible to cover all of Peoria's contributions to the war effort in a study of this scope. Therefore, later incidents and contributions, along with the economic efforts of the city, will not be presented here. The purpose of this study was to show the initial contributions by the city to the Union war effort, and to show the patriotism of the citizens of Peoria. The city's response was considerable, and its sacrifice immense. The war came upon a nation fully ready for it in attitude, but not prepared for the cost. However, for the first months of the conflict, the city of Peoria readily gave all it could to suppress the "irrepressible conflict."

NOTES

[1]Arthur C. Cole, *Era of the Civil War* (Springfield, IL: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919), p. 200.

[2]Newton Bateman, et at. *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Peoria County* (Chicago and Peoria, IL: Munsell, 1902), p. 159.

[3]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 15, 1861, p. 1.

[4]Bateman, pp. 159-60.

[5]Ibid., p. 160.

[6]Gerald T. Kelch "Peoria's Civil War Camps and Regiments." (Peoria Historical Society Collection, 1957), p. 1.

[7]*Peoria Democratic Union*, April 15, 1861, p. 2.

[8]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 15, 1861, p. 1.

[9]Bateman, p. 160.

[10]Ibid., p. 160.

[11]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 16, 1861, p. 1.

[12]Kelch, p. 1.

[13]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 19, 1861, p. 1.

[14]Ibid., April 21, 1861, p. 1.

[15]Ibid., April 18, 1961, p. 1.

[16]Hudson R. Sours, "Illinois and Peoria County in the Civil War," (Peoria Historical Society Collection, 1961), p. 6.

[17]Cloyd Bryner, *The Story of Illinois 47th,* (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros., 1905), pp. 12-13.

[18]Kelch, p. 2.

[19]Bryner, p. 14.

[20]Bateman, p. 161.

[21]Ibid., p. 161.

[22]Gordon A. Craig, *Europe, 1815-1914* (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1972), p. 206.

[23]*The History of Peoria County, Illinois* (Chicago: Johnson and Co., 1880), p. 285.

[24]Bateman, p.161.

[25]Ibid., p. 162.

[26]Ibid., p. 162.

[27]William P. Snow, *Lee and His Generals* (New York: Fairfax Press, 1982), p. 486.

[28]Ibid., p. 487.

[29]Bryner, p. 17.

[30]Bateman, p. 163.

[31]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, April 25, 1861, p. 1.

[32]Ibid., April 26, 1861, p. 1.

[33]Ibid., April 30, 1861, p. 1.

[34]Ibid., April 26, 1861, p. 1.

[35]Kelch, pp. 6-7.

[36]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, May 4, 1861, p. 1.

[37]Ibid., May 18, 1861, p. 1.

[38]Ibid., May 20, 1861, p. 1.

[39]Sours, p. 8.

[40]Bryner, p. 24.

[41]Sours, p. 8.

[42]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, May 8, 1861, p. 1.

[43]Bateman, p. 164.

[44]Bryner, p. 15.

[45]*Peoria Journal Star*, May 30, 1967.

JOHN HAY'S LYCEUM LECTURES

George Monteiro

For five years, beginning in 1870, John Hay worked as an editor and chief editorial writer for the *New York Tribune*. It was in the early months of that tenure that he first achieved literary fame. It came with a rush, but not for his day-to-day newspaper work. It was poetry that did the trick.

On November 19, 1870, the *Tribune* published "Little-Breeches," the first of his Pike County ballads. The poem, an instant success, was followed by "Jim Bludso (of the Prairie Belle)" in the January 5, 1871 *Tribune*. Reprinted widely, these poems made Hay's literary reputation.

The great popularity of the poems also turned John Hay into an attractive figure for the lecture circuits. In 1871 he reached an agreement with James Redpath to have the Boston Lyceum Bureau represent him. But through a misunderstanding or, perhaps, a quiet personal agreement, Hay also became a client of the American Literary Bureau, based chiefly in New York. The latter advertised Hay as available for lectures on three topics: "Democracy in Europe," "Franklin in Paris," and "Phases of Washington Life," with terms at $75 to $125."[1]

When he learned about Hay's arrangement with the American Literary Bureau, Redpath was understandably unhappy. On June 27, 1871, Hay wrote him a conciliatory letter:

> The announcement of the A. L. B. was made under a misapprehension, the result of a conversation some months ago with Mr. Medbery, in which no arrangements whatever were made. I will make no engagements in New England except through your Bureau, and none anywhere without consulting you. I regret the publication of my name in the A. L. B. circular, but I do not see how it is now to be remedied. It will not interfere with any arrangements you may make, as I shall refer everything to you.
>
> I received this morning through the A. L. B. an application from the "Star Course" of Chicago asking for "any Monday next Fall or Winter." I have delayed my reply to ask your suggestions.[2]

Hay's arrangement with Redpath, however, did not work out to Hay's satisfaction. Seven months later, Hay brought it to an end. On January 31, 1872, he wrote: "I do not think it will be worthwhile for us to renew our arrangement for the coming year. Only one engagement came directly through you to me, and that was not in New England where our arrangement was an exclusive one. All the rest were communicated by me to you. I shall probably not have so many invitations but that I can answer them myself without any trouble."[3]

John Hay in 1874.

Two of the three lectures that Hay had prepared achieved popularity, according to Tyler Dennett, Hay's biographer. "One was 'Phases of Washington Life, of The Heroic Age in America,' which gathered about President Lincoln and the war years in the Capital. The other was 'The Progress of Democracy in Europe.'"[4] Newspaper accounts of the two lectures are reproduced below, the latter as "Day-Break in Spain" and the former as "Washington in Wartimes."

During 1871, throughout all of 1872, and running at least into the early months of 1873, Hay continued to deliver his lectures. But he never got around to publishing them. The closest thing to publication, in fact, were synopses of Hay's lectures on Spain and Washington that, according to a brief notice on the *New York Tribune's* editorial page, were printed in something called the *Tribune Lecture Sheets*,[5] and extended reports in the *Daily Tribune* after the two lectures were given in New York. These extended accounts give us the fullest versions of these lectures that have so far surfaced.

Hay's lecture on Benjamin Franklin in Paris is another matter. It does not appear to have been popular in the 1870s. In fact, no report of its having been delivered at all has yet been discovered, though it is highly unlikely that no one actually requested it. After Hay's death in 1905, however, the lecture was made available to the *Century Magazine*. A notice in the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books* on November 25, 1905, reported: "Several years ago John Hay, the late Secretary of State, prepared for delivery in Chicago a scholarly lecture on 'Franklin in France.' Then failing health caused the abandonment of many plans, and the address was finally laid aside. It will be published in an early number of *The Century*."[6] It was published in the magazine and collected in *Addresses of John Hay* (1906), where it was misleadingly described as having been "prepared for the Merchants' Club of Chicago, December, 1904, but not delivered, owing to the death of a brother of Mr. Hay."[7] Evidently, when called upon for a talk, Hay on this occasion dug into his files and came up with his thirty-year-old lyceum speech. Because it is readily available both in the *Century Magazine* for January 1906 as well as in the *Addresses*, "Franklin in France" (or, as it was known originally, "Franklin in Paris") is not reproduced here.

Hay's two other lectures are concerned with recent national upheavals: a successful revolution in Spain establishing political and social freedom and a successful war against insurrectionists in the United States that had the effect of extending freedom throughout the Union. In "Day-Break in Spain" Hay celebrates the fall of the Spanish monarchy (and along with it those "two august powers, Divine Right and Ecclesiastical Rule") and the attendant rise of a popular constitutional government. The democratization of Spain was one of Hay's most cherished themes in the 1870s — he takes it up as well in his *Castilian Days* and in editorials for the *New York Tribune* — as was Lincoln's extraordinary leadership of the Union cause, the subject of "Washington in Wartimes" and of *Abraham Lincoln:*

A History, the massive biography written by Hay in collaboration with John G. Nicolay.

DAY-BREAK IN SPAIN[8]

A Lecture by John Hay.

Signs of Returning Life after Centuries of Stagnation — Principles of the Spanish Republicans.

Mr. John Hay is to be heartily congratulated on the double success which greeted his first lecture in New-York, given at Association Hall, last night. The lecture itself was brilliant, noble, and compact with information; the audience was above the average New-York audience in point of intelligence and power of appreciation. Mr. Hay's delivery is admirably easy and graceful; and his clear, resonant voice filled the large hall in every part, and without any appearance of effort. In some of the more spirited passages his tones rang like a trumpet, and in the description portions it was smooth and well-modulated. The lecture was a prose epic; it was more, for it was illuminated by such vivid lights and deepened by such broad shadows as only a true artist can use in a masterpiece of word-painting. It was curious to see where the frequent applause indicated the intelligent sympathy which those who heard had with the speaker and his theme. The "good points," the liberal sentiments, and the names of such patriots as Castelar were severally greeted with impartial cheers. When the lecture was fairly over and the speaker had vanished from the platform, the audience lingered with their applause and repeated it, as if they thought the graceful orator would come again and paint for them, as skillfully as before, the spectacle which he had with his own eyes seen — Daybreak in Spain.

THE LECTURE

Mr. Hay began with a reference to the myth of the death of the God Pan, at the time of the Crucifixion, and said that Monarchy and Ecclesiasticism were dying in the Spanish Peninsula. He said:

I think there are signs of Daybreak in Spain. You will not contradict me if you reply that it is not high noon there. I assert that the people of Spain are making rapid progress toward true and orderly democracy. I do not consider that I am answered if you say they have not arrived there. I insist that the spirit and temper of the people have greatly improved in recent years. I refuse to retract this when you point me to the masacres [sic] of Malaga

and Tarragona, the heathenish bombast of the Cortes, or the carnival of demons which has made the name of the Spaniards in Cuba a shame to civilization for four years. There are faint hearts who speak of the insurrections as a sign of retrogression. They are precisely a sign of returning life after a paralysis of ages. It would have been far better for Spain if they had begun earlier. When a man is freezing to death, anything is better than sleep. The old mythology is wounded fatally. The curse of Spain was woven of two qualities which the Spaniard of history and tradition considered his chief virtues, loyalty to his king and devotion to his church. The hope of Spain is contained in the fact that these servile virtues are losing their hold. The gods of antiquity, which typified material forces, fell at the coming of the new religion which appealed to the spirits and the minds of men. The old superstition of loyalty and bigotry will vanish in Spain in proportion as they place the law above the King, and God above the Church.

Mr. Hay then gave a rapid sketch of the series of historical events, by which the Church and the Crown gained such absolute control of the Spanish people. The religious wars, the banishment of the Jews, and of the Moors, and accumulation of wealth and power by the clergy, and the destruction of all independence of spirit, and all industrial interests among the people were touched upon. In the stricken land nothing flourished but a rabble of monks and the royal authority. Here is the marvel. The Church and the Crown had brought them to their misery, yet better than their line the Spaniards loved the Church and the Crown. When the life of the great house of Austria ran out in the devil-haunted idiot Charles II, this was the lamentable state of Spain; imbecility and rapacity on the throne and in the Church, among the people a dumb reverence for the King which exhausted the idea of right — which is civil death, and an unquestioning submission to the Church which annihilated individual thought, which is moral death.

The accession of the Bourbon kings was next described, and the efforts made by some of them to raise the country from its ignorance and degradation. Charles III, said, one day: "My people are like bad children, who kick their nurses' shins every time their faces are washed." The masses were too ignorant and too stolid to receive and carry on the plans of improvement devised for them. The better classes were so benumbed and brutalized by loyalty and faith that there were no instruments in Madrid to the King's hands. From the accession of Philip V, all important offices passed into the hands of foreigners. But the work was too vast to be accomplished at once. The great kings of the Austrian line had shown that absolute monarchs are almost omnipotent for evil. But it seems to be the will of Providence that they shall not be omnipotent for good. They can do much to deprave a people; they can do very little to elevate them. Through labor and fear and trembling must a people work out its own salvation. So that transient gleam of liberalism upon thrones faded away.

The philosophy of Federick hardened into a rule of blood and iron; Catharine's passed away in intrigues and assassinations; Joseph II took alarm at the honors paid to Franklin in Paris, and said to Marie Antoinette, his sister, "Madame, don't forget that royalty is the trade we live by." Philosophy in France fled from Versailles and the Parc-au-Cerfs, and took refuge in wine-shops and garrets among uncombed and savage thinkers, and the wrongs of the people, unrighted by well-meaning and feeble kings, bred that wild democracy which mixed in its wrath and despair the cup of blood and terror which was given to the monarchies of the world to drink.

For more than half a century the court and the cloister struggled against the spirit of the time. The era of revolutions and insurrections opened, which has not yet closed. In spite of all they could accomplish the King and the priesthood steadily lost ground from the beginning of the century. Every revolution, whether successful or not, cost something to the principle of authority by educating the people to resistance; but in the wide economy of destiny nothing is manifested until it is needed. No one in Spain imagined the weakness of the throne, nor the strength of public opinion, until the Revolution of September, 1868.

The reign of Queen Isabel was reviewed and the influence of her personal character on the loyalty of the people discussed. The immediate occasion of the Revolution was the banishment of the Unionist Generals, which was used by Marshal Prim to bring over the fleet and the army. The pronunciamiento in the Bay of Cadiz was described, and the fall of the monarchy. There was almost no defense. The conquest was unexampled, in its rapidity and completeness. Prim flew from city to city on the coast as if gifted with ubiquity. They fell into his hands like ripe fruit. Serrano marched up from Cadiz to the capital with one skirmish at the Bridge of Alcòiea, which ended the fighting. Madrid made no resistance. Even the office-holders forgot that the lillies of Bourbon were gilded on the public crib. The soldiers made common cause with the citizens. Marshal Concha, the Captain-General, could not enforce respect enough at the railway station to obtain a special train to join the Queen. She — poor lady — took flight across the Pyrenees with Marfori and Gonzales Bravo, and people laughed at her scanty attendance. But they were wrong. She went worthily attended. For with her fled two august and venerable powers, Divine Right and Ecclesiastical Rule, let us hope forever, out of Spain.

The liberal Constitution of the new monarchy was reviewed; its provisions for individual rights, for religious liberty, and for democratic institutions generally. The lecturer continued:

"I do not pretend to say that the traditions of ten centuries are put to flight by a tune from a brass band. Human nature is not changed in a day, and there is a good deal of the old blood left in Spanish veins. But I do assert that there is an enormous change in the tone and spirit of the Spanish monarchy so far as loyalty and bigotry are concerned." The extreme radicalism of one school of Spanish Republicanism was considered, and while condemning the violence of the fanatics, the lecturer

paid a cordial tribute to the character and purposes of the chiefs of the Commune of Paris, and passed on to set forth the true principles of the Republican party of Spain. Their definition of Liberty is "the right of every citizen to obey nothing but the law." The lecturer drew a picture of the results of hereditary government, as illustrated by the portraits of Charles V and his descendants, and argued that popular elections could lead to nothing worse than this. He closed as follows:

Is there not progress, when for the first time in history, the liberty of the Spaniard is safe from the King, and his conscience is free from the Church? Not yet can we except for that country, so long plundered and misruled, the full enjoyment of freedom and its peaceable fruits. Enough that we see the long night ending, enough that we see the flush of the coming dawn. The sky is never more turbid than in the trouble and in the promise of breaking day. The heaven is full of mystery, the earth is pale and gray in the hush of the change, the West is peopled with shadows, and the East is red with threatenings and fire. But we know that the sun is near, because the light has preceded him, and we see with our eyes the things that the night concealed. We do not know what the day may bring. We do not know what destiny reserves for the new democracy of Spain. Years of struggle, years of leanness, years of civil tumult it may be. But we are sure that the spirit of progress in its ever ascending spiral has left the spirit of the Inquisition forever behind, that the light is overflowing the Peninsula, that the Nineteenth Century has at last scaled the mountains of Navarre and conquered Spain.

WASHINGTON IN WARTIMES[9]

Lecture by John Hay

Scenes in the Great War Drama — Sketches Of Historical Personages.

A large and unusually cultivated audience gathered in Steinway Hall, last evening, to listen to a lecture by Mr. John Hay on what he styles "The Heroic Age in Washington." The platform was occupied by some 200 of the notable men and women of the city. The audience listened with the closest attention throughout, only broken by frequent and hearty applause. The lecture was one of high dramatic interest and full of the

touches of a masterly hand. A few of the striking passages will be found below:

THE LECTURE.

I do not come to rake up the ashes of old animosities. The strifes which preceded the colossal contest of 1860 are dead. They now seem as petty as our little quarrels of to-day will appear hereafter. But in that contest there was a quality which raised it above ordinary elections. There was a sudden pause for consideration — a casting up of the balance of the national life. Men asked themselves seriously whether there were anything worth fighting for in political principles. The answer was in that vast majority of Lincoln's. The first words I ever heard from him in that momentous Summer which preceded the struggle were singularly significant of this moral tendency our politics at that moment began irresistibly to take.

He came into the law office where I was reading, which adjoined his own, with a copy of *Harper's Magazine* in his hand containing Senator Douglas's famous article on Popular Sovereignty. Lincoln seemed greatly roused by what he had read. Entering the office without a salutation, he said: "This will never do. He puts the moral element out of this question. It won't stay out." This was the gathering and growing conviction of the whole country. All measures had been adopted to evade the frightful responsibility of decision. But it was coming and everybody knew it. Even those who obstinately looked and talked the other way felt an uncomfortable assurance that they were drifting stern-foremost to the solution of the matter.

After a pungent reference to the well-meant but ineffective labors of the Peace Congress, now utterly forgotten, the lecturer sketched the journey of Lincoln from Springfield to the national capital. He gave, too, a strong picture of the Washington manners, morals, and politics of those whisky and tobacco-flavored days, when, as Harry Wise said, "you had to wear great overshoes into the best society." The lecturer thus depicted one period of the heroic age which soon began:

A NATION IN ARMS.

It is not often given to the life of a nation to see a moment of moral exaltation like this. The world may wait long before it will see again a gathering like that of the manhood of the nation, which swept down almost with the swiftness of thought to Washington and the border. You know, when the quota of the States were full, how those who were left out clamored to get in — how they overflowed the limits of their own States, and gave infinite trouble to the mustering officers by their change of venue.

They committed perjuries and frauds to get a chance to be shot. And among those who came in those first splendid days was to be found the

finest flower of our great Western civilization. What recruits they were! One Rhode Island company had a half dozen millionaires in the ranks. And, what is far better than millionaires, there were parsons, and scholars, and poets, men of wit and men of genius, willing to waste the spoil of the ages they had accumulated in study, as a mere protest of civilization against barbarism.

That was the army which the enlightened public opinion of the better classes in England called a horde of hirelings enlisted to butcher the gentlemen of the South. England said that in English — and so we understood and remembered it. But let us not be unjust to the Motherland. The whole world repeated the taunt in its various dialects. Russia did not, nor did Patagonia, for the same reason. They did not know enough about us even to make a mistake. But the diplomatic body, posted in Washington for the express purpose of telling the truth about us, sent nothing over the ocean but calumnies and misrepresentations.

What a farce it all was! The diplomats of Washington burrowing like moles away from the light of a dawning epoch, stuffing their ears with cotton, that they might deny the existence of the storm of lightening and thunder which was clearing the foul air of its long-gathered poisons. The ancient philosophers said that the music of the spheres was so loud that we could not hear it. The blaze of that boreal light was so bright that not a man in the diplomatic service at Washington could see it. Yet every street and avenue swarmed with heroes.

Here, playing an eloquent tribute to the memory of Baker and Ellsworth, the speaker passed on to speak of the heroism of the time, in which women as well as men shone resplendent. Something was said in justice, if not in kindness, to the 30,000 office-seekers which infested Washington, and the speaker adverted to the consolidation of opinion which at last assured the victory and prepared the reconstruction. He said:

FAITH IN ULTIMATE TRIUMPH.

The conviction of ultimate triumph never deserted the best men at headquarters. You remember how Gen. Sherman spoke of Grant's assurance of victory — which resembled, Sherman says, "a Christian's faith in his Savior." It was the same with Lincoln. Even the morning after Bull Run, when many thought seriously of the end, he said, with some impatience, "There is nothing in this except the lives lost and the lives which must be lost to make it good." There was probably no one who regretted bloodshed and disaster more than he, and no one who estimated the consequence of defeat more lightly. He was often for a moment impatient at loss of time, and yet he was not always sure that this was not a part of the necessary scheme. There are those who think his tranquillity in those terrible scenes was shallowness or unthinking levity. There could be no greater error. The solemnity which you see in the Gettysburg address and the second inaugural is but a shadow of the momentous spiritual contests which he fought out with his own questioning soul.

A paper was then read, in which Mr. Lincoln had set forth, in the form of a religious meditation, his beliefs and questionings of the purposes of Providence. This is a paper which has never been made public, and the audience was evidently profoundly impressed by it. The great struggle, as it neared its close, was graphicly [sic] described, and a few solemn periods fitly told of the triumphal procession which bore home to the sunset prairies the dead Lincoln. The lecturer concluded with these words:

As in the old tragedies after the fall of the hero came the flourish of the trumpets and the entry of the forces, so after Lincoln had gone from Washington came in the victorious soldiers. It seems to me no such touching pageant was ever seen. There was not a regiment with half its complement of men. There was scarcely a soldier or an officer with a whole uniform. There was scarcely a banner but what was blackened with smoke and riddled with the fiery hail of fight. Yet as it marched past the reviewing generals, past Grant, and Sherman, and Stanton, and the representatives of the Old World all in gala dress, no one doubted any more that this was the greatest army that ever went to war. In that colossal and inspiring picture of Kaulbach, which shows the legendary fight of Attila, then on two fields and two contests, the one between the soldiers striving in deadly combat on the turf, and the other a shadowy battle set in the upper air, among the ghosts of the heroes slain below. So all hearts that day were divided in reverence and gratitude between our two armies, the one on its way homeward crowned with love and laurels, preparing its own unselfish disarmament and its return to the peaceful interests of the country it had saved; and the men of the other invisible forces were in those wasted columns who had gained their promotion on the battle-field to a higher and wider sphere of duty, fulfilling now the scheme of the Lord of Hosts in some activity above the clouds.

Thus they passed on, the victors and the martyrs, out of the army into peace, out of our sorrow into holy memories. And with the sweet and thrilling sounds of the bugles, and the rising dust of the columns smitten into golden glory by the sun setting over Georgetown Heights, passed away the Heroic Age from Washington.

NOTES

[1]*American Literary Magazine and Lecture Season* (September, 1871), p. 36.

[2]MS letter, John Hay to James Redpath, June 27, 1871, Beinecke Library, Yale University. Quoted with the Library's consent.

[3]Quoted in *The Collector: A Magazine for Autograph and Historical Collectors* (New York: Walter Benjamin Autographs, 1985), p. 9.

[4]Typer Dennett, *John Hay: From Poetry to Politics* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1933), p. 82.

[5]Anon., "Cheap Literature," *New York Tribune* (February 26, 1873), p. 4.

[6]Anon., "Century Publications," *New York Times Saturday Review of Books* (November 25, 1905), 802.

[7]*Addresses of John Hay* (New York: Century, 1906), p. 1.

[8]*New York Tribune,* December 21, 1872, p. 4.

[9]*New York Tribune,* January 14, 1873, p. 4.

THOMAS F. RAILSBACK AND HIS CONGRESSIONAL PAPERS

Sheila H. Nollen

On December 1, 1983, Thomas Railsback dedicated his papers accumulated through sixteen years of service in the U.S. House of Representatives to the Western Illinois University Library. By that time, his total collection of congressional papers amounting to over 500 boxes of materials had been transferred to WIU. Actually, Railsback was one of those insightful congressmen who recognized the potential historical value of his records and took steps during his tenure in office to insure the proper preservation of these materials. He formally presented the first of his collection to the university on April 2, 1977 "so that researchers can see what has taken place in the not-too-distant past."[1] The agreement between WIU and Railsback stipulated that he would continue to donate his papers as long as he remained in office. He did so, and now that he is no longer a congressman, his entire collection resides in the university library, where it provides researchers with a vast amount of recent historical information.

Born in Moline, Illinois on January 22, 1932, Thomas Fisher Railsback attended local public schools and Grinnell College in Iowa where he received a B.A. in English in 1954. He received his law degree in 1957 from the Northwestern University School of Law. From 1957 to 1959, during his army service, he worked in the Legal Assistance Office. He married Patricia Sloan and they raised four daughters. After his military tour of duty, he returned to Moline to practice law with his father from 1959 to 1963 and with a larger firm from 1963 to 1969. In the meantime, he ran for state representative and twice was elected. As his second term neared its end (1966), he decided to run for Congress as representative of the 19th Congressional District of Illinois. He won that election and the next seven thus serving the area for sixteen years.

Railsback began his Congressional tenure at age 34 when the average age of those in the House of Representatives was 50. As a member of the minority party (Republicans), he served under five different Presidents (two Democrats and three Republicans): Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan. He was the only freshman congressman invited to join the prestigious Republican club, the Chowder

Thomas Fisher Railsback

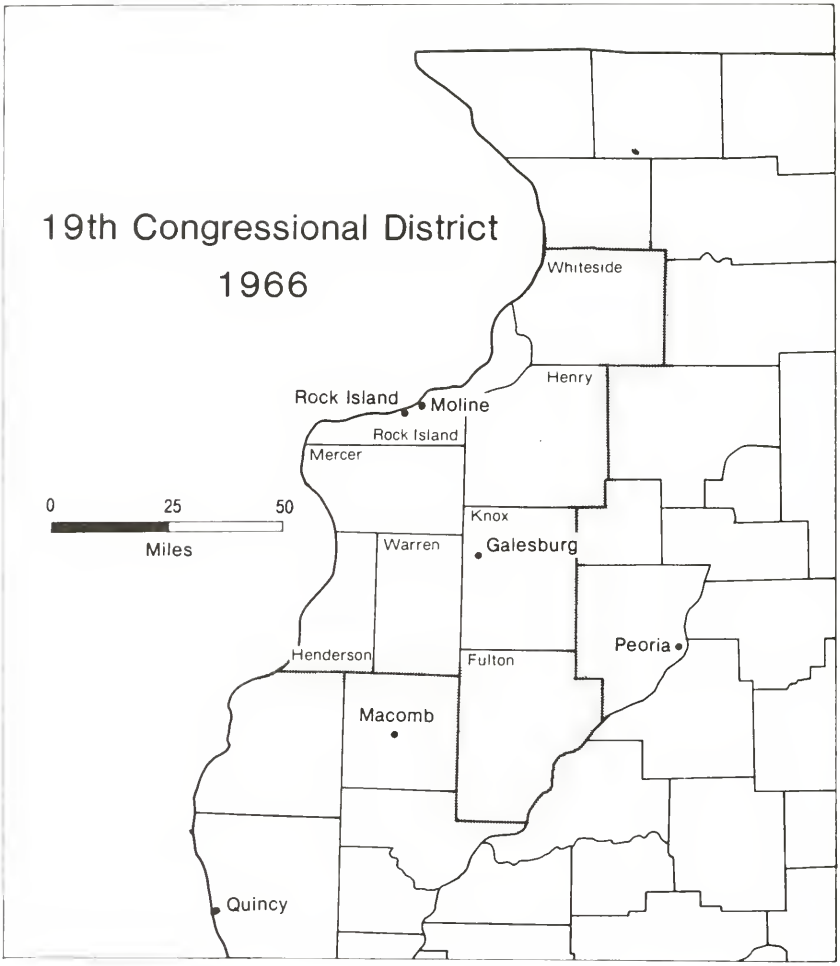
and Marching Society, which allowed him to rub shoulders with the leadership early in his career.

Throughout his years in the House of Representatives, Railsback served on the Judiciary Committee and several of its subcommittees. By 1974, he was the ranking Republican (i.e. minority leader) of the subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice and he continued with that responsibility until he left the House. For the last six years he also served on the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. Railsback's congressional papers topically and quantitatively reflect his interest in matters of concern to his committees: penal reform, crime, gun control, juvenile justice, lobby control, and narcotics control.

Midway through his congressional career, Railsback, because of his membership on the Judiciary Committee, found himself squarely in the middle of the debate over Watergate and his party's President, Richard Nixon. The committee was charged with discovering if there were sufficient grounds for impeachment proceedings and if so to bring them before the House. His records illustrate the thoroughness with which he tackeled this onerous chore and some of the soul searching he experienced before becoming the pivotal Republican on the committee as he voted against Nixon on two of the three Articles of Impeachment to be brought to the House.

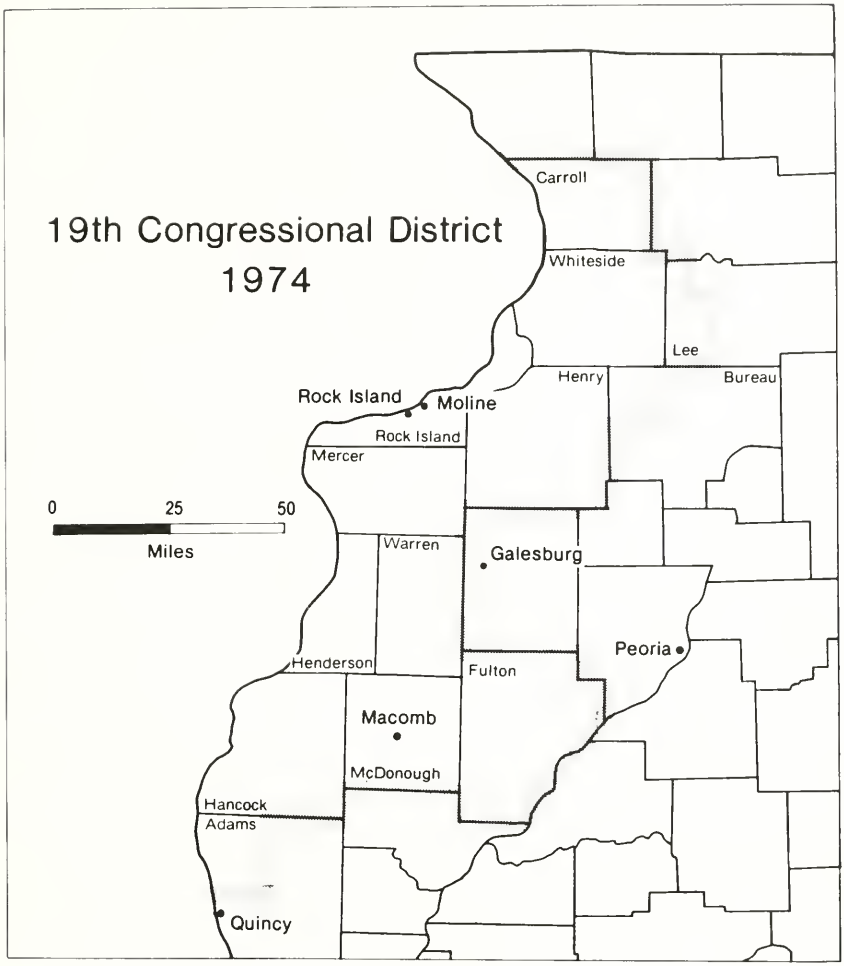
Railsback adopted the stance of an independent, moderate, thinking Republican. More often than not, he voted with the bipartisan majority in the House, and with the sitting President (whether Democrat or Republican). Slightly less than half of the time, he voted in agreement with the majority of Republicans and the conservative coalition. On most issues, his votes mirror the thinking of his constituents back home, but on some issues he quietly but forcefully voted his conscience (gun control, Nixon) even though unsupported by his voters. His attendance as illustrated by his voting record varied from a low of 77 percent to a high of 95 percent. His average of 85 percent was well above that of the majority of his colleagues.[2]

The 1966 election which brought Railsback to Washington was the closest one he ever won. He beat the Democratic incumbent with 52.3 percent, which made his district the only one in Illinois to change party hands during the decade of the 1960s. He increased his win to 65.3 percent in 1968 and 68.4 percent in 1970. Reapportionment changed his district twice during his sixteen-year tenure. Following the 1970 census in 1971, the boundaries of the twenty-four Illinois districts were redrawn according to a Republican contrived map.[3] This removed Knox County and added Carroll, McDonough, Hancock, and parts of Adams, Bureau, and Lee counties to the 19th district. If anything, this strengthened Railsback's Republican support in the district. The previous 19th district had been 65 percent urban (mainly the Quad Cities) but after 1971 was only 59 percent urban. Since Railsback's moderate politics appealed to blue collar urbanites as well as rural conservatives, he built on a strong base. He ran



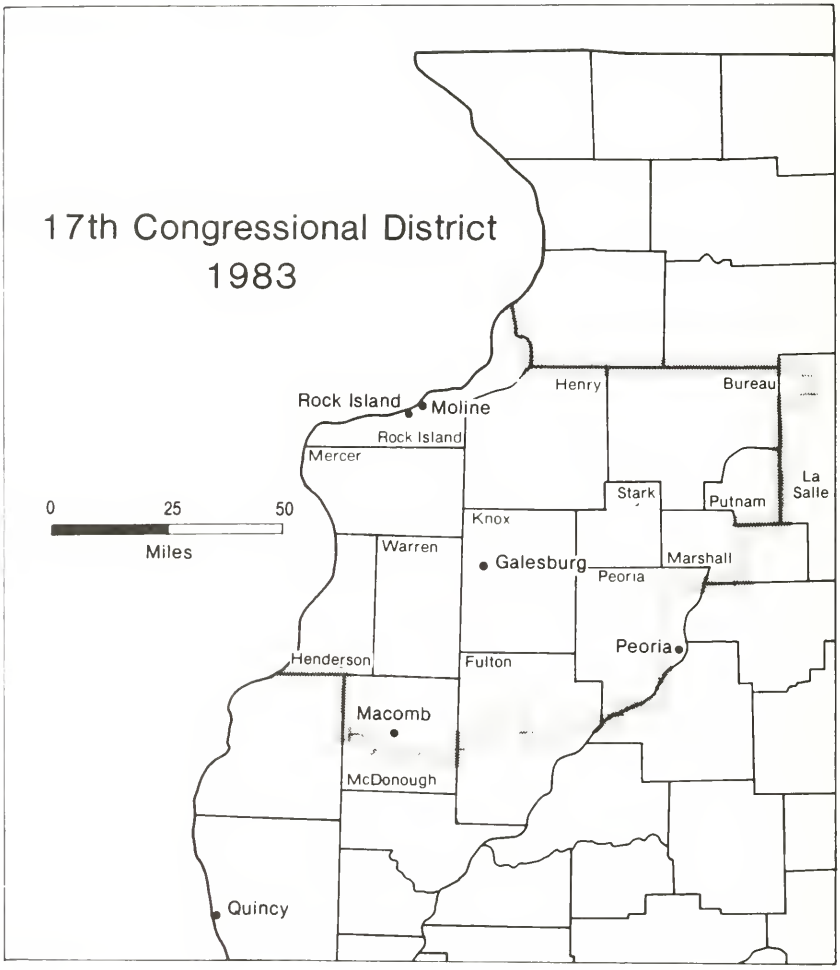
unopposed in 1972, garnered 65.3 percent in 1974, 68.5 percent in 1976, again ran unopposed in 1978 and claimed an opposed high of 74 percent in 1980.

Railsback did not fare so well with the 1980 census reapportionment which reduced the number of Illinois' districts from twenty-four to twenty-two. In November 1981, a Democratic-contrived map went into effect.[4] The new 17th district which centered around the Quad Cities included Knox again as well as Stark, Putnam and parts of Peoria, La Salle, Marshall, and Bureau counties, and removed Hancock and Carroll, and parts of Fulton, McDonough, Adams, and Lee counties. This realignment favored the urban Democrats some, but more importantly for Railsback, it took away 30 percent of his constituency and added unfamiliar territory. The increasingly ailing agricultural economy, the national conservative trend in the early 1980s, and the high unemployment levels in Galesburg and the



Quad Cities also worked against the reelection of Railsback. His long-standing moderate Republicanism was attacked by conservative McDonough County farmer, Ken McMillan, who defeated him with 51.1 percent of the Republican vote in the primary. Actually, Railsback received 53 percent in those parts of the district which he had represented since 1972, but lost to McMillan in the newly added territory, where he received only 42 percent. In the general election McMillan could not match Railsback's popularity with the laborers and moderates in the urban areas and he, in turn, lost to Rock Island Democrat Lane Evans.[5]

Railsback's tenure as 19th District Congressman for western Illinois covered parts of three decades of American history. The late 1960s saw urban riots, political assassinations, and the deepening Vietnam debate. In the 1970s the nation continued to fight and finally ended its involvement in the Vietnam War, struggled with the political moral problems brought



into focus with the Watergate debacle, and had to face, if not resolve, energy shortages, environmental issues, and the conflict between the two. The 1970s also brought revenue sharing, the eighteen-year-old vote, and the controversies over the SST, the MX missile, and the equal rights amendment. Throughout this time and into the early 1980s, the economy presented an underlying conflict. Taxes, defense spending, deficit spending, and recession were recurring national problems. In foreign affairs, the nation normalized relations with China, suffered through the USS *Pueblo* and several Iranian crises, and tried to make gains in strategic arms limitation talks. Railsback actively participated in these issues at the national level, and his boxes of papers reflect his concerns and those of his district. Closer to home, Railsback served during the terms of Illinois Senators Everett Dirksen, Charles Percy, Ralph Smith, Adlai Stevenson III, and Alan Dixon.

The Railsback papers began arriving in the WIU Library in 1976. After the initial deliveries which included materials from his first eight years in office, they arrived in batches two years following their generation. The papers are typical congressional office working files. They can roughly be divided into four categories. Most voluminous are the general files of correspondence. Covering a wide variety of topics, these letters and responses (copies) are organized by subject, by correspondent (if frequent), or by organization. The department files, arranged by government agency, include both informational materials and correspondence associated with Railsback's activities as a liaison between constituents and these agencies. Case files deal specifically with military and social security problems encountered by Railsback's constituents and referred to him for alleviation. The legislative files, arranged by congressional committees, include correspondence and research material related to the drafting and passage of laws. In his early years in office in the late 1960s, these materials were kept together for each Congress — that is, for two years. By 1971 the files became so extensive that they were organized by each year or session of Congress.

Other office files, however, were not arranged by years. The best example of this type are the project materials. Arranged by subject, the project files contain information, official communications, and constituent letters about proposed and ongoing federal projects in the 19th District. Some of those are of short duration, while others span Railsback's entire tenure in Congress. Also covering a longer time-span are the district files received from the regional office. These contain correspondence and staff notes regarding case work handled locally as well as copies of Washington office correspondence. A limited but special collection is the "black boxes" or impeachment files.

Container lists, or the listings of the contents of each box as arranged, have been prepared for Railsback's papers through 1974 and for the project files. More detailed descriptive inventories of the contents of each folder have been completed for the materials generated during Railsback's first four years in office as well as the impeachment files from 1974. Also available for use is a subject guide to the files for his first term. The Railsback collection has been enriched by legislative indexes listing the bills and resolutions introduced or cosponsored by him with accompanying dates, purpose, and committee destination for the 90th, 91st, and 92nd Congresses. The processing of Railsback's papers to prepare them for public use began shortly after the initial delivery; it has continued intermittently as time and money have allowed. Thomas Powers explains the problem: "further processing of the Hart (i.e., Senator Philip A. Hart) Collection, like any other large collection, will be an ongoing project dependent upon the time available and the further interest of researchers in the field."[6] Another researcher in congressional collections, James Benson, has also noted that the cost of processing such large amounts of primary source material can only be justified if the materials are and will

be used by researchers.[7] What value do Railsback's papers have? For what can they be used?

"By any definition, the elected leaders of the U.S. government — the President, the senators, the representatives — are worthy subjects of research as they reflect and shape the operations and values of our society,"[8] writes archivist Eleanor McKay. Frank Mackaman, archivist of the Dirksen Center, agrees, "Because representative government starts with the legislative branch, citizens and scholars alike have an enduring interest in Congress."[9] Historians depend heavily on access to primary source materials to analyze the past so that they and others can understand the present and plan for the future. Congressmen's offices serve as the major interface between the American people and the federal system. Tom Railsback, as such an intermediary, has provided primary source material for the study of the period from 1967 to 1982.

At the regional level, these papers provide insights into western Illinois society. As history, they document "not only the activity of the elite, but the hopes, aspirations, and frustrations of the non-elite."[10] Anyone can write to his congressman. Senate Historian Richard Baker claims that congressional papers "represent a kaleidoscope of national and local concerns and issues."[11] The papers reflect the values and attitudes of many individuals of the area as well as the concerns and attitudes of groups of 19th District citizens. Groups as diverse as Deere and Company, the Mississippi River Campsite Preservation Association, Augustana College, the Carthage City Council, the American-Scandanavian Foundation, and Western Illinois Regional Council, all wrote to Congressman Railsback for information or help. Considered as a unit, these concerns contribute to the social, political, and economic history of the region for that time period. Otherwise unavailable information about noted 19th District individuals, such as Judge Jack Coryn or artist Herbert Gentry, exists for the local historian or biographer.

Being the intermediary between individual constituents with problems and the impersonal federal bureaucracy ranks as one of the most important jobs of a congressman. The case files resulting from this activity, while personal and thus limited in use, can be manipulated in the aggregate to reach generalizations about the citizens of the area and about citizen demands on government. As Mackaman says, "In a basic sense, congressional case files shed light on the nature of representative democracy in modern times."[12]

Congressional collections also offer valuable materials for studies at the national level. Major historical events such as the Watergate episode take on added meaning and reality seen through the eyes of western Illinois citizens and their representative. Foreign crises and domestic disturbances, like the urban riots and political assassinations of the 1960s, reverberated in the 19th District as did the Equal Rights Amendment and Vietnam debates. For any historical, economic, political, or social topic of

Governor Richard Ogilvie, Representative Tom Railsback, Senator Everett Dirksen, Senator Charles Percy.

the period, the Railsback papers provide supplementary source material. A relatively recent expansion of social history techniques popularized quantitative, comparative social history. Concerned with the history of the common people, social historians find letters expressing the views and values of ordinary people an irreplaceable resource. Congressional collections provide them. Trends in social behavior and attitudes can be put together from the opinions and actions of many individuals.

Political scientists as well as historians have examined the workings of Congress. Patricia Aronson writes, "United States congressional records are important sources for studying United States government."[13] Historian William Leuchtenberg agrees: "There is no way that one can write a proper history of the legislative process without using the papers of members of Congress."[14] Indeed, as more and more congressmen retain and deposit their papers where they can be used, the analysis of congressional workings can become more thorough even as it becomes more difficult because of the quantity involved. Deward Brown, when working with the papers of Sam Rayburn, wrote, "However routine the material can be, it gives a down-to-earth account of how the political system works. . . . They provide an opportunity to examine the processes of American politics on the local level."[15]

What do the members of Congress do? What did Railsback do in Congress for sixteen years? Not only what happened in his offices but also some of what happened in the halls and offices of the Capitol have been recorded in these papers. Other people with whom he associated, both Congressmen and other important personalities of the period, are reflected in the written record. As documentary evidence supporting different theories of political behavior, Railsback's papers can be used in conjunction with the collections of his contemporary Illinois Representatives and Senators. The most extensive and immediately available are those of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen at the Dirksen Center in Pekin, Illinois.

In one sense, the massive collections of recent congressmen vary little from one to another. As Lydia Lucas writes, "The unique character of a congressional collection, that which most firmly supports our rationale for acquiring and preserving it, derives instead from the individuality of the Congress member in his interests, his personal style, and his contribution to the governmental and representational process, and from the locally rooted attitudes, problems, and concerns of that portion of the American public embodied in his constituency."[16] Railsback's files provide the information for his legislative biography as well as a small part of his personal history. The positions he took on the issues brought forth in the 1970s and the history of his sixteen-year legislative activity, especially on the Judiciary Committee but certainly not limited to it, lie buried in his papers.

One special group of materials, the project files of the Railsback collection, provide some of the most interesting, useful, unduplicated, and

accessible information. His office differentiated between casework and project files by defining the latter as anything affecting more than just one person (or family presumably). Frank Mackaman notes that "public works files (which usually relate to communities rather than to personal cases) contain rich documentation for local history."[17] These files result from corporate requests for federal aid for such things as roads, schools, sewers, and national historic sites among others. Often referred to as "pork barrel" or "bringing home the bacon," federal grant monies in the 19th District were of concern to Railsback. The papers associated with this activity allow researchers to examine community development, study municipal and county history and politics, and evaluate the impact of the federal governmental policy and programs on localities.

The twenty-seven boxes of project files covering all sixteen years include both short term projects such as disaster relief and ongoing, long term projects such as flood control. From these files one can extract community expectations for federal assistance, competing interests within the region (particularly Quad Cities versus smaller towns), planning processes for projects, money and length of time involved, environmental and economic impacts, present condition of local facilities, and historical information.

The files themselves include a wide variety of materials, some unique and some available in other ways as well. Letters, telegrams, staff memos, and notes from public and private meetings offer uniqueness, as do the letters received by Railsback from individual citizens, local groups, state and federal agencies and officials, and congressional colleagues. Often there are also letters neither to nor from Railsback but apparently forwarded to him because of their relevancy to a project. News clippings, editorials, news releases, testimony given by Railsback in Congress, and copies of the *Congressional Record,* the *Federal Register,* bills, public laws, and hearings related to the project accompany the notices of grant award action sent to Railsback by federal agencies so he could make the appropriate announcements. Fact sheets, brochures, maps, blueprints, drawings, photographs, copies of grant applications, local resolutions and ordinances, environmental impact statements, background information, and copies of other studies are some of the varied materials in the files. Normally all of the information on a particular project was filed together.

Railsback's involvement in projects followed a predictable pattern. Almost without exception, the initial contact was made by a local governmental body or official or an interested citizen who appealed to Railback for information or for specific assistance. Typical requests include: "If at all possible, I would like to participate in some of this funding and need any information you would have relative to how to obtain it and what the various criteria are," "I should like to ask that you write or call this agency and do what you can to lend your support to our grant application," "I am requesting your assistance, direction, and/or advice with the following problem," "Please Mr. Railsback, could you check into

the matter for me to see how much progress has been made?" and "We would like to know why this is taking so long."

Upon receipt of such requests, Railsback usually contacted the agency or agencies involved. Railsback then notified his constituents of the action he had taken. The agencies usually responded quickly and deferentially to Railsback as they did to all members of Congress since that body controlled their expense accounts. Responses to constituents could not always be positive, particulatly when local opinion was divided on a proposed project. Railsback tactfully forwarded his information but not always his personal views.

When all went well (as it often did), commendations were forthcoming for Railsback. "Eighteen years of stalling and promises — and then ALONG CAME RAILSBACK!" "Certainly you have done masterful work, and all of us in this area appreciate it." Not infrequently, however, a job well done also raised expectations for more aid. "I am so appreciative of your assistance in solving our previous problems that I want to be sure that you too are aware of the problem as I know you will do everything you can to assist us." "We appreciate the help your office has given in the past and do not intend to overimpose upon your time nor that of your busy staff. However, . . ."

Proposed projects varied from school additions to sewer or water systems, from programs for the elderly to new airports, from problems with railroads to law enforcement enhancements. Many communities sought help with health facilities, roads, bridges, parks, housing, and power plants. Emergencies such as droughts and floods demanded immediate action. Requests reached Railsback at different stages in the federal grants process. Some had already submitted applications and received grants but were experiencing difficulties with the management or renewal of them. Others wrote as soon as they applied, seeking his "pull." Some wrote because they couldn't understand the delay when their applications had long been in the process. Many contacted Railsback for information before they started any other part of the process.

A few projects stand out as particularly interesting or important. The largest collection of materials deals with a "project" that was not typical nor was it the result of a federal grant: the Rock Island Arsenal. Run by the United States Department of Defense, the Arsenal employed over 7000 people, with a hefty $150,000,000 annual payroll and thus greatly affected the area. Throughout his sixteen years of duty in Congress, Railsback and his office dealt with many issues involving the Arsenal. Labor disputes, environmental pollution, relocation, and economic impact came up most often, with citizens of varying and even opposite opinions appealing to Railsback to do something. His staff memos in this file as well as others often asked, "Does Tom want to get involved in this?"

Another project which Railsback supported until he became aware that locally it was a very controversial issue was the establishment and funding of the Emmet-Chalmers Fire Protection District in McDonough

19th District Congressman Tom Railsback, speaking at the Rock Island Arsenal.

County. Even after he stepped back from actual personal involvement, he continued to keep abreast of what was happening. As a result, the file on this project supplies a rather complete and interesting history of both pros and cons in the development of that fire protection district.

A project that covered all sixteen years of his service and would still be in his current file if he were in office also illustrated the lengths to which he often went to bring together the appropriate officials at the local, county, state, and federal levels. This project concerned the development of Lamoine Lake in Hancock and McDonough counties. In addition to printed information also available elsewhere, this file includes many letters of support and opposition and also staff notes and memos.

Some projects sought help from around the world. Railsback communicated with Olov Isaksson of Sweden's Museum of Natural Antiquities concerning the preservation work at Bishop Hill and that community's inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. In 1970, the Bishop Hill project received a restoration grant of 10,000 Swedish crowns from His Majesty, King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden. This same file also deals just as seriously with the number of portable toilets available for tourists at Bishop Hill.

The federal grants network is both extensive and complex. A simple listing of the federal agencies with whom Railsback communicated in regard to projects fills two pages. A rough count obtained by sampling folders reveals fifty different federal agencies and a handful of state ones. Major ones stand out: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Office (later Department) of Education, Department of Labor, Farmer's Home Administration, Army Corps of Engineers, Environmental Protection Agency. Others less well known include the Urban Mass Transit Administration, Economic Development Administration, National Endowment for the Arts, and American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. In his freshman years, Railsback either had to contact a congressional liaison or to guess about whom to ask for help. As he gained experience, he developed a network of contacts, thus increasing his effectiveness in working for his constituents.

The project files have been processed and a container list of folder titles prepared for users. Arranged by subject, the files are also accessible through a card file developed and used by Railsback's staff and included with the papers. In the card file, projects are arranged by year and by county and include such information as the city or town involved, a brief description of the project, amount requested, federal agency involved, and date. The project files are the most accessible for research because they contain little of the personal material that might be restricted in its use to protect confidentiality. They offer the researcher the opportunity to study conditions in west central Illinois from the late 1960s to the early 1980s from a unique perspective with ample primary sources.

Tom Railsback served the people of the west, central portion of Illinois in the House of Representatives for sixteen years. His office retained

records of the many activities in which he was involved from 1967 to 1982. In a sense, Railsback continues to serve this area through these materials which he generously contributed to the WIU Library for study by researchers. For years yet to come, these records will provide the primary source material for understanding the 1970s from the perspective not only of the nation but also of Illinois' 19th Congressional District.

NOTES

[1]Statement by the Honorable Tom Railsback at Western Illinois University, 2 April 1977.

[2]These statements reflect figures gleaned from the annual volumes of *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1967-1982, Volumes 23-38 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968-1983).

[3]See maps #1 and #2 showing old and new district lines. U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory, 90th Congress, 1st Session, 1967* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 909; U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1974* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 938.

[4]See map #3 for new 17th district boundaries. U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory, 98th Congress, 1983* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), p. 1002.

[5]*Politics in America: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1983), pp. 406-409, 465-466; *Congressional Districts in the 1970s* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1973), pp. 54-56, 64; *State Politics and Redistricting, part I* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1982), pp. 97-99, 107-108; Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1984* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal, 1983), pp. 321-326, 365-366.

[6]Thomas E. Powers, "Processing as Reconstruction: the Philip A. Hart Senatorial Collection," *American Archivist* 46(2) (Spring 1983), p. 185.

[7]James K. Benson, "Political Research on Constituent Mail: A Report on Problems and Prospects," Manuscript prepared for the Minnesota Historical Society (Summer 1976), p. 18.

[8]Eleanor McKay, "Random Sampling Techniques: A Method of Reducing Large, Homogenous Series in Congressional Papers," *American Archivist* 41(3) (July 1978), p. 281.

[9]Frank H. Mackaman, "Managing Case Files in Congressional Collections: The Hazards of Prophecy," *Midwestern Archivist* 4(2) (1979), p. 102.

[10]U.S. Congress, Senate, Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers, *Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 68. Mackaman made this presentation as a member of a panel of archivists at the conference September 14-15, 1978.

[11]Senate Conference, p. 123.

[12]Mackaman, p. 98.

[13]Patricia Aronson, "Congressional Records as Archival Sources," *Government Publications Review,* Vol. 8A (1981), p. 295.

[14]Senate Conference, p. 17. These comments were given by William Leuchtenberg during his keynote address to the conference.

[15]Deward C. Brown, "The Sam Rayburn Papers: A Preliminary Investigation," *American Archivist* 35 (July/Oct 1972), p. 334.

[16]Lydia Lucas, "Managing Congressional Papers: A Repository View," *American Archivist* 41(3) (July 1978), p. 279.

[17]Mackaman, p. 97.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

This bibliography is the sixth in a series started in 1981 and appearing in spring issues of *Western Illinois Regional Studies*. Thus far bibliographies of the following West-central Illinois counties have been published: Fulton, Mercer, Henderson, Calhoun, Pike, Adams and Warren. Entries in these bibliographies consist of separately published monographs, pamphlets, typescripts duplicated for limited private distribution, and maps. The bibliographies do not include periodical or newspaper articles, scrapbooks, manuscripts, or genealogical studies on single families. Biographies of individuals are included only if they contain significant amount of information on the county. Entries are arranged by major categories.

Because local publications often do not contain all bibliographic elements, care has been taken to list them according to practices specified by the *Anglo-American Cataloging Rules II,* which should facilitate their identification in the major state and national bibliographic sources. However, many of these items are owned only by local libraries and museums, and are difficult to locate. Several libraries have sizeable collections of materials on Schuyler and Brown counties. The Illinois Historical Survey in the University of Illinois Library at Urbana, and the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield both contain large collections on both counties. They also maintain indexes to books and periodical articles on the counties. The Schuyler Jail Museum in Rushville is widely regarded as the best location for the study of genealogy materials. Western Illinois University Library also has a sizeable collection of materials on the counties, including photographs, manuscripts and local government records housed in the IRAD center.

The compiler of this bibliography is especially indebted to Mrs. Lavina Walton of the Schuyler Jail Museum, who helped in finalizing the listings. However, because local publications are frequently published in small editions and distributed in a small geograhic area, they frequently survive only as rare specimens, and are consequently overlooked. A note about such an omission, addressed to the compiler, would be greatly appreciated. Please address correspondence to Gordana Rezab, Editor of WIRS Notes and Documents, Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL, 61455.

SCHUYLER COUNTY

General County Histories

Biographical Review of Cass, Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois, Containing Biographical Sketches of Pioneers and Leading Citizens . . . . Chicago: Biographical Review Publishing, 1892. 624 p. Also 1971 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

Surname Index to Biographical Review of Cass, Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois . . . . Rushville, Ill.: Schuyler County Historical Museum, 1971? 9 p.

Combined History of Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois, With Illustrations Descriptive of Their Scenery, and Biographical Sketches of Some of Their Prominent Men and Pioneers. Philadelphia: W. R. Brink, 1882. 412 p. Also 1970 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

Index of History of Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois: 1686-1882. Astoria, Ill.: Stevens Publishing Company, 1970. 46 p.

Dyson, Howard F. *History of Schuyler County.* (v. 2 of *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Schuyler County* by Newton Bateman, Paul Selby and Howard Dyson). Chicago: Munsell, 1908. Also 1970 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

Index, Bateman's History of Schuyler County, Illinois, 1908. Rushville, Ill.: Schuyler County Historical Museum, 1970?. 55p.

Schuyler County, Illinois History, compiled by the Schuyler County Jail Museum. Dallas, Tex.: Taylor Publishing, 1983-1985. 2 v.

Special Aspects of the County

Drury, John. *This is Schuyler County, Illinois: an Up-to-date Historical Narrative with County Map, and Many Unique Aerial Photographs of Cities, Towns, Villages and Farmsteads.* Chicago: Loree Company, 1955. 266 p.

Griffin, D. W. (Donald William) *Schuyler County Land Use Suitability Manual.* Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, College of Agriculture, 1978. 18 p.

Hall, Beatrice B. *Eight Grades in One Room, the History of Hale Ridge Country School, Schuyler County, Illinois.* n.p.: B. B. Hall, 1977. 19 p.

Hobart, Chauncey. *Recollections of My Life, Fifty Years of Itinerancy in the Northwest.* Red Wing, Minn.: Red Wing Printing, 1885. 409 p.

Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey. *Inventory of Historic Landmarks: Schuyler County, Interim Report.* n.p., 1975. 7 leaves.

Illinois Historic Structures Survey. *Inventory of Historic Structures in Schuyler County, Interim Report.* n.p., 1972. 2 leaves.

Kelly, Oliver H. *History and Genealogy of the Manlove, Tharp, Reamer, Smith, Kelly Pioneer Families.* Champaign, Ill.: 1972. 196 p.

Metz, Henry S. *History and Reminiscences of Schuyler County, Illinois, and Addresses Read and Delivered at the Centennial Celebration, July 4, 1876 in Rushville, Illinois.* Rushville, Ill.: n.p., 1876. 14 p.

Our County, Our People in Our Time: Writings by and About the People of Schuyler County, ed. by Rose Redman. Rushville, Ill.: HELP Center, n.d. 62 p.

Our Greer Family in Schuyler County, Illinois compiled by Lavina Walton. n.p., 1985. 1 v.

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Brown and Schuyler Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer's Publishing Co., 1918. 251 p. Also 1970 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

Schuyler County School Survey Committee. *Tentative Report*. n.p., 1947.

Schuyler County Superintendent of Schools. *Annual Report of the Public Schools of Schuyler County.* Rushville, n.p., 1921.

Schuyler County in World War Two, ed. by Don Street. Aledo, Ill.: Times Record Publishing Co., 1948. 131 p.

Schuyler County Soils, by E. A. Norton et al. (Soil Report, no. 56) Urbana-Champaign: Cooperative Extension Service. College of Agriculture. University of Illinois, 1934. 23 p.

Sugar Grove United Methodist Church, 100th Anniversary Celebration, April 27, 1980. n.p., 1980? 28 p.

County Atlases, Maps and Plat Books

(listed in chronological order)

Andreas, Lyter & Co. *Atlas Map of Schuyler County, Illinois.* Davenport, Iowa: The Company, 1872. 65 p. Also 1970 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

Index: Atlas Map of Schuyler County, Illinois, 1872. n.p., 1985. 1 v.

Geo. A. Ogle & Co. *Plat Book of Schuyler County.* Chicago: The Company, 1892. 70 p.

Index: Plat Book of Schuyler County, Illinois, 1892. n.p., 1985. 38 leaves.

Little, John S. *Map of Schuyler Co., Illinois.* Rushville, Ill.: J. S. Little, 1907.

Rand, McNally & Co. *Road Map of Schuyler Co., Illinois.* Chicago: The Company, 1910.

Geo. A. Ogle & Co. *Standard Atlas of Schuyler County, Illinois.* Chicago: The Company, 1913. 67 p.

Atlas and Plat Book of Schuyler County, Illinois, Containing Outline Map of the County, Plats of All the Townships With Owners' Names . . . Rushville, Ill.: Citizen Printing, 1920. 38, 14 p.

W. W. Hixson & Co. *Plat Book of Schuyler County.* Rockford, Ill.: The Company, 1926. 15 leaves; 193- 14 leaves.

Chestnutt, John M. *1940 Schuyler County Atlas.* Rushville, Ill.: News Print, 1940? 28 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Farm Plat Book and Business Guide, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1950. 48 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Farm Plat Book, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1956. 24 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Schuyler County Atlas, 1963-1964-1965*. Rockford Ill.: The Publishers, 1963.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Triennial Atlas and Plat Book, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1967. 36 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Atlas and Plat Book, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1972. 34 p.

Official 1975 Schuyler County, Illinois Directory. Algona, Iowa: Directory Service, 1975. 28 p.

Artcraft Company. *1976 Ownership Atlas, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Quincy, Ill.: The Company, 1976. 32 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Land Atlas and Plat Book, Schuyler County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1983. 34 p.

Censuses and General Genealogical Information

(census publications are listed first in chronological order)

1830 Census of Schuyler and McDonough County, Illinois. n.p.: Schuyler-Brown Historical and Genealogical Society, n.d. 12 leaves.

Schuyler County, Illinois, 1840 Population Census, indexed by Libby Grimm. n.p., 1982. 27 leaves.

1850 Census of Schuyler County, Illinois, prepared by Ruth L. Chapman et al. Rushville, Ill.: Schuyler-Brown Historical and Genealogical Society, 1971, 249 p.

Round Prairie Cemetery of Schuyler County, Illinois. Augusta, Ill.: Tri-County Genealogical Society, 1981. 30 p.

Publications on Towns and Townships

(listed alphabetically by town name)

Bainbridge Township

Bainbridge Township of Schuyler County, Illinois, edited by Margaret Walker. Rushville, Ill.: n.p., 1968. 31 leaves.

Birmingham

Young, E. Horton. *A History of Round Prairie and Plymouth, 1831-1875*. Chicago: G. J. Titus, 1876. Also 1985 reprint by Tri-County Genealogical Society, Augusta, Illinois.

Brooklyn

History and Biographical Sketches of Brooklyn and Brooklyn Township. Camp Point, Ill.: Billee J. O'Blenis, 1898. 40 p.

Camden

Gabbert, Lorena V. *Events and History of the Camden Area.* n.p., n.d. 58 p.

Rushville

Centennial Anniversary of the First Methodist Church. Rushville, Ill.: Rushville Times Co., 1928. 24 p.

Eightieth Anniversary, 1830-1910, First Presbyterian Church. Rushville, Ill.: Schuyler County Herald Print, 1910. 60 p.

150th Anniversary, First Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, Rushville, Illinois. n.p., 1982. 16 p.

Revised Ordinances of the Town of Rushville, Together With the Act of Incorporation. Quincy, Ill.: n.p., 1862. 70 p.

Rushville Board of Education. *Rushville Union Schools, Course of Study, Rules and Regulations.* n.p., 1897; 1904.

Rushville City Directory, Embracing the Names of Those Who Had Their Property Numbered. n.p.: Moorehead 7 Co., ca 1895. 9 p.

Rushville, Illinois. Rushville, Ill.: Don Garrison, n.d. 20 p.

Yesterday and Today of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. Rushville, Ill: The Church, 1919. 16 p.

Sanborn (-Perris) Map Company. *Rushville, Schuyler County.* New York: The Company, 1886. 3 sheets; 1893. 4 sheets; 1900. 6 sheets; 1906. 8 sheets; 1913. 9 sheets; 1926. 11 sheets.

BROWN COUNTY

General County Histories

Biographical Review of Cass, Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois, Containing Sketches of Pioneers and Leading Citizens . . . . Chicago: Biographical Review Publication Co., 1892. 624 p. Also 1971 reprint by Stevens Publishing Company, Astoria, Ill.

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Index of History of Schuyler and Brown Counties, Illinois: 1686-1882. Astoria, Ill.: Stevens Publishing Company, 1970. 46 p.

The Democrat-Message Souvenir Edition. Mt. Sterling, Ill.: n.p., 1897. 64 p.

A History of Brown County, Illinois, 1880-1970, published by the Brown County Board of the Schuyler-Brown Historical and Genealogical Society. Astoria, Ill.: Stevens Publishing, 1972. 745 p.

Special Aspects of the County

Brown County School Survey Committee *Final Report.* n.p., 1947.

Drury, John. *This is Brown County, Illinois: an Up-to-date Historical Narrative With County Map, and Many Unique Aerial Photographs of Cities, Towns, Villages and Farmsteads.* Chicago: Loree Co., 1955. 186 p.

French, Daniel L. *An Early History of the Restoration Movement in Brown County, Illinois.* Thesis (M.A.) Western Illinois University, 1973. 146 p.

Griffin, D. W. (Donald William). *Brown County Land Use Suitability Manual.* Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, College of Agriculture, 1978. 26 p.

Historical Records Survey, Work Progress Administration. *Inventory of the County Archives of Illinois. No. 5. Brown County.* Chicago: The Survey, 1938. 93 p.

Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey. *Inventory of Historic Landmarks in Brown County. Interim Report.* n.p., 1974. 12 leaves.

Illinois Historic Structures Survey. *Inventory of Historic Structures in Brown County. Interim Report.* n.p., 1972. 3 leaves.

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Brown and Schuyler Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer's Publishing Co., 1918. 251 p. Also 1970 reprint by Stevens Publishing Co., Astoria, Ill.

Siloam Springs State Park. Illinois Dept. of Conservation. Div. of Parks and Memorials, n.p., n.d.

Soil Associations of Brown County, Illinois, by W. R. Oschwald et al. (Circular 1052) Urbana-Champaign: Cooperative Extension Service. College of Agriculture. University of Illinois, 1972. 16 p.

County Atlases, Maps and Plat Books

(listed in chronological order)

Geo. A. Ogle. & Co. *Standard Atlas of Brown County, Illinois, Including a Platbook of the Villages, Cities and Townships of the County . . . .* Chicago: The Company, 1903. 47, 22 p.

W. W. Hixson & Co. *Plat Book of Brown County, Illinois.* Rockford, Ill.: The Company, 1926. 11 p.; 193-. 10 leaves.

Chestnutt, J. M. *Plat Book of Brown County, Illinois*. Mt. Sterling, Ill.: Chestnutt, 1946. 31 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Plat Book, Brown County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1952. 28 p.

Central Illinois Farm Directories. *Brown County Plat Book and Farmers Directory*. Springfield: The Directories, 1960. 14 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Triennial Atlas and Plat Book, Brown County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1965. 22 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Tri-annual Atlas and Plat Book, Brown County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1971. 22 p.

Artcraft Company. *1975 Ownership Atlas, Brown County, Illinois*. Quincy, Ill.: The Company, 1975. 30 p.

Rockford Map Publishers. *Land Atlas and Plat Book, Brown County, Illinois*. Rockford, Ill.: The Publishers, 1980. 26 p.; 1983. 26 p.

Censuses and General Genealogical Information

(census publications are listed first in chronological order)

1850 Brown County, Illinois Federal Census, transcribed . . . by Ruth Flesher Robb. Lombard, Ill.: R. F. Robb, 1983. 94 p.

The Cemeteries of Brown County, Illinois, 1825-1972. n.p.: Brown County Board of the Schuyler-Brown Historical and Genealogical Society, 1975. 668 p.

Publications on Towns and Townships

(listed alphabetically by town name)

Mt. Sterling

The Democrat-Message Souvenir Edition. Mt. Sterling, Illinois, n.p., 1897. 64 leaves.

Mt. Sterling High School. *Curricula*. Mt. Sterling, n.p., 1919.

125th Anniversary. Mt. Sterling, Ill.: First Presbyterian Church, 1960. 23 p.

Sanborn (-Perris) Map Company. *Mt. Sterling, Brown County, Illinois*. New York: The Company, 1885. 1 sheet; 1890. 2 sheets; 1894. 4 sheets; 1900. 6 sheets; 1910. 6 sheets; 1924. 8 sheets.

Third Annual Liturgical Day and Catholic Action Institute. Mt. Sterling, Ill.: St. Joseph's Church, 1943. 48 p.

Versailles and Versailles Township

Souvenir Edition of the Versailles Sentinel. Versailles, Ill.: n.p., 1917. 43 leaves.

McFarland, Robert N. *A History of the 1st White Settlers in Versailles Township, Brown County*. Mt. Sterling, Ill.: Democrat-Message, 1960. 20 p.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MORMONISM IN CONFLICT: THE NAUVOO YEARS. By Annette P. Hampshire. New York and Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985. Pp. 343.

The American fascination with the story of the Mormons knows no bounds. There have been more books published in the United States (not to mention those published in England and elsewhere) since Joseph Smith established the church in April, 1830, than have been published about the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans combined.

It is not easy for a writer today to find a new approach to the Mormon story, but Annette P. Hampshire has accomplished that in her *Mormonism in Conflict: the Nauvoo Years,* originally written for a doctoral thesis at the University of Durham in North Carolina. In her research for the book, the author assigned herself the task of examining a wide range of source materials on the Mormons' Illinois years (1839 to 1846): reports in the church archives, diaries, and letters and personal recollections in the great Mormon collections from Yale University to the Huntington Library in California.

But author Hampshire went an important step farther, one which no previous writer of a book on the Mormons' Illinois experience has taken. As she says in the introduction: "The source most concentrated on in this study . . . has been the Illinois press . . . a ready-made, near-neutral context in which one may assess the strength of feeling on the Mormon question by contrast and in comparison with other issues of the day" (p. 3).

As a result the book brings to light direct quotations from writers who witnessed the great events during the Mormon years in this state. Not only is the reader given the thunderous clashes between the Mormon and anti-Mormon presses in Hancock County, but also reports from newspapers in Springfield, Quincy, and as far away as the Alton *Telegraph.*

The book is replete with instances in which Hampshire uses actual newspaper reports to monitor important developments in the confrontation between the Mormons and their adversaries. To answer the key question of when the first public proposal inviting the Mormons to leave Illinois was made, the author quotes from an editorial in the Quincy *Whig* of September 24, 1842. The *Whig* suggested that the Mormons leave Illinois and urged Joseph Smith "to settle his new Jerusalem in Oregon" (p. 96).

An especially adroit use of direct newspaper quotations reveals the public ferver which followed the destruction by the city of Nauvoo of the anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Expositor.* The Alton *Telegraph* expresses ". . . the hope that the deed would not go unpunished." According to the

Quincy *Whig*, "The act demonstrates the consistent, flagrant Mormon disrespect for the law." The Warsaw *Signal* shouts, "War and extermination is inevitable. CITIZENS ARISE ONE AND ALL!!!" (p. 198).

This book will be of keen interest to all who have a deep interest and some understanding of the Mormon period. But coins do have two sides, and in the heavy concentration on contemporary reports, the book's focus is often so close to the trees that the forest cannot be seen. The commentary to explain and interpret the impact of events is frequently inadequate.

For instance, the thrust in this book is that relations between Mormons and their non-Mormon neighbors constantly worsened all during the years in Illinois, especially after the murders of the Smiths. Actually there was a quieting of the tension after the death of the Smiths. Nauvoo continued to grow. Some seventy Mormon families either completed houses begun earlier or built additions to existing ones. The very room in which the decision to emigrate west made, in the fall of 1845, was a meeting room that had been added to the Brigham Young home after the Smiths were dead.

The person who suffers the most from the book's treatment is Illinois Governor Thomas Ford. Nursing a near bankrupt state, a condition he inherited, Ford had no funds to assemble a formidable military force such as the one the Mormons faced in Missouri. He attempted to improvise a security force of county militias to turn back the threat of civil war in western Illinois in June of 1844. This move turned out badly when Ford misjudged the fury and intrigue which dominated the Hancock militia (the Carthage Grays), a mistake which cost the Smiths their lives.

Ford's role is further diminished in the account of the forgoing of the final agreement between the state of Illinois and the Mormons, under which the Mormons agreed to leave in the spring of 1846. Hampshire leaves the impression that it was Gen. John Hardin's bringing the militia to Hancock County and a somewhat incidental conference in which Hardin and Stephen A. Douglas conferred with church leaders that brought about the decision that the Mormons would leave the state.

What Hampshire records of this climactic event was merely the small part of the iceberg which could be seen above the water. Profiting by his 1844 experience, in the fall of 1845 Ford orchestrated an orderly plan by which the power of his entire administration was moved into a position to deal with the Mormon problem. He called upon Gen. Hardin to enlist a small state militia of less than 500 men, recruited from areas of the state remote from western Illinois. Hardin was to be in the vicinity of Nauvoo by the morning of September 30, when he would be met by Ford's personal representative, Stephen A. Douglas. Hardin's forces were directed to follow (not precede) Douglas into Nauvoo where a conference with Brigham Young would take place. Ford's timetable was followed precisely. Douglas and Young began the conference after noon on September 30 and continued it into the morning of October 1. The epic agreement paved the

way for the Mormon leadership and a large contingent of the Mormon people to leave the state without a single fatality.

Unfortunately, Hampshire is only following the standard Mormon interpretation in misunderstanding Ford's role. In summary, while it would have been desireable to have more commentary and more careful evaluation, her book is outstanding in presenting the views of current observers, especially of Illinois newspapers.

Richard Crabb
Wheaton, Illinois

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.'S RED BRICK STORE. By Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan. Western Illinois Monograph Series, No. 5. Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1985. Pp. 87. $3.95.

This short monograph tells what there is to know about the building on Water Street, not far from the Mississippi, that was the headquarters from which Joseph Smith, Jr., directed the affairs of Mormon Nauvoo and the church that was this Illinois boom town's first reason for being. In the authors' words:

> . . . the Red Brick Store served Nauvoo as much more than a place in which to shop . . . . It was a location for social activities, both those formally sponsored and those that arose as people gathered . . . for gossip and interaction. It was a place where portions of the city's populace met for civic, fraternal, and cultural affairs. Most important, however, it was the location where Smith developed and taught his peculiarly frontier American doctrinal ideal. (p. 32)

Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan are both professional historians with wide knowledge of the sources and literature relating to the Mormon movement. Both are affiliated with The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, owners of the site and sponsors of the restoration of the Red Brick Store, but their approach in this book is so even-handed that it is unlikely to upset the "Utah Mormons" who, as tourist visitors to Nauvoo, are likely to be its most numerous buyers. The absence of polemics gives it wide utility, and its brevity offsets its rather pedestrian style.

Of the book's five chapters, the first and last deal with the Red Brick Store as a place of business. "Storekeeping in Nauvoo" tells of the construction in 1841 of the general merchandise store which Joseph Smith managed for only a few months before deciding that making money as a businessman was not his forte. Others ran the store until Smith's death in 1844, and Chapter 5, "Red Brick Store Daybook," faithfully produces all of the entries for the first week after the new managers took over. It tells, with occasionally innovative spelling but meticulously precise quantities,

prices and sums, what was sold, who paid cash, and who purchased on credit. It shows how the store was a clearing-house through which the Nauvoo Temple Committee handled many of the transactions associated with building a large and complex edifice with tithings of commodities and labor. The daybook, the original of which is in the Masonic Library in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is the most important new material that this monograph adds to the published literature on Nauvoo.

The second and longest chapter, "Center of Nauvoo Society," shows how the offices and assembly area on the second floor of the Red Brick Store figure into Mormon history. Not only were school classes and social events held there, but the Ladies Relief Society and the Masonic Lodge were organized and conducted their early meetings. Here Joseph Smith, Jr., ordained his namesake son to be his successor in the leadership of Mormonism — a cornerstone of the RLDS Church — and here he instituted the endowment and sealing ceremonies that are cherished by those who went west with Brigham Young to form The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Here he also introduced some of his followers to the concept of plural marriage, which today his RLDS descendants are trying to accept and his Utah heirs are trying to forget. Launius and McKiernan wander somewhat afield from their subject in explaining and illustrating these religious innovations, but most readers will find this orientation material helpful.

"From Decline to Destruction, 1844-1890" (Chapter 3) traces how the building fell into disuse after Joseph Smith's death. It remained with his widow and her heirs until dismantled, its most extended use being as a meeting place for the RLDS congregation that grew up there after Joseph Smith III accepted the leadership of the church in 1860.

Chapter 4 tells of the "Store Reconstruction" in the 1970s, a project with which McKiernan was directly involved. Sponsored by the RLDS Church but funded by private donors, the restoration was completed as part of the commemoration in 1980 of the sesquicentennial of Mormonism's founding. The careful historical and archaeological research and painstaking attention to architectural detail that went into the reconstruction are apparent to anyone who visits the Joseph Smith Center, of which the Red Brick Store is now a part.

Several pages of useful and clearly reproduced photographs and pictures enrich the volume. The endnotes are extensive (pp. 77-87) and seem to be generally accurate. Note 13 (pp. 22, 81) cites a May 1842 source for a September 1842 event, and the list of people having accounts at the store (pp. 78-79) omits Brigham Young, although he is several times listed in the excerpts from the daybook (pp. 14, 53, 73).

Launius and McKiernan have added only a little to the resources already available in print for the historical study of "the City of Joseph." But they have produced a very helpful handbook for anyone who plans to visit the Red Brick Store or who, having been there, wants to understand what has been seen. As they aptly observe, the building "encapsulates more than

any other historic site in the town the triumph and tragedy, the beauty and horror, the secular authority and the spiritual experience of Mormon Nauvoo" (p. 49).

Richard D. Poll
Professor of History Emeritus
Western Illinois University

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL: PEORIA'S PAGAN POLITICIAN. By Mark A. Plummer. Western Illinois Monograph Series, No. 4. Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1984. Pp. 94. $3.95.

Mark A. Plummer of Illinois State University has authored a dandy monograph for Western Illinois University on Robert G. Ingersoll, Peoria's pagan politician (hence the title of the work). This slender volume is thick with facts (and with ten pages of interesting anecdotal footnotes), and it offers a behind the scenes peek into the famous freethinker's political life during his early formative years in Peoria, 1858-1877.

Plummer has five chapters that focus on different periods in Ingersoll's career as attorney, orator, and politician. In the first, "Douglas to Lincoln," he explains that Ingersoll distinguished himself in law, politics, and philosophy while living in the symbol of America's heartland, Peoria, Illinois. Plummer also declares that during the Peoria years, politics was Ingersoll's vice, a vice which he could neither win at nor break. In his political career he went from Jackson Democrat to Douglas Democrat then to War Democrat, followed by a conversion to Lincoln Republican then Abolitionist and finally Radical Republican.

As Plummer indicates, Ingersoll's first major oratorical success was on the Fourth of July, 1860, when he gave a speech with only a few hours notice. But the Civil War interrupted any plans for a political career. He recruited a volunteer unit, the 11th Cavalry, and went off to war. Two years later, his return to Illinois brought him into the heat of political battle. His brother, Ebon, was in Congress and the campaigning never seemed to stop. Plummer reflects the excitement of those early years.

In "Look at Peoria," before discussing the political intrigue that Ingersoll engaged in, Plummer treats the reader to a couple of literary gems that have only enjoyed a limited audience. He reprints Ingersoll's funeral oration for Abraham Lincoln from the Peoria *Daily Transcript* and also a lengthy letter on religion to then Governor Richard Oglesby, "Leeks and Onions in the Holy Land."

Plummer also points out that the current phrase "How does it play in Peoria" was first used in different form by President Andrew Johnson, who said, "Look at Peoria" to show support for his reconstruction policy. Ingersoll, whose emerging political philosophy was, "I will be a little more

radical today than I was yesterday," siezed on "Look at Peoria" and turned it around as a campaign theme against Johnson.

Although Ingersoll was never elected to public office, despite several tries, he was appointed Illinois Attorney General by Gov. Oglesby in 1867. And he kept his political alliances alive with his travels and witty correspondence.

In "Lost Nomination" Plummer details Ingersoll's quest for governor in 1868. Despite his grand oratory, the party nomination went to General John M. Palmer. Ingersoll complained, "I am pretty nearly sick of the whole thing. After the convention is over I will settle down to the practice of that miserable profession known as law, and bid good-bye to all political aspirations."

The extent that Ingersoll's freethought views influenced the convention outcome is a matter of some dispute, as Plummer recognizes. Years later Ingersoll is said to have quipped that he lost the nomination because he was "not right on infant baptism."

Finally Peoria grew too small for the increasingly popular orator and attorney. In 1869 he wrote to his brother Ebon, "I am beginning to feel a little anxious to get away from this small and pinched-up town. The fact is there is but very little to do here." Later that year he would elaborate: "Illusions of childhood have vanished . . . . I constantly ask 'Is this all? Is there nothing more than I have seen?' "

"Patriot Infidel" chronicles the emergence of Ingersoll the freethinker. As disillusionment with politics grew, he began to reveal his "infidelity." He injected freethought views into his patriotic speeches. At a Decoration Day speech in 1868, he proclaimed:

> Human liberty is the shrine at which I worship. Progress is the religion in which I believe. Liberty is forever, tyranny but for a time. Liberty is the condition precedent to all progress. Let us talk for liberty, work for liberty and all are free. The people have eyes — give them light. They have lungs — give them air. They have souls — give them liberty.

In 1869 Ingersoll gave his "Progress" lecture in Bloomington and Decatur. The local newspaper said, "The doctrine is not point-blank Atheism, but it is practically so." By 1872 Ingersoll was making atheistic assaults on religion, both in speech and print. In the year he published his first noted lecture, "The Gods," which opened, "An honest god is the noblest work of man." And in 1874 Ingersoll asked, "Oh how long will mankind worship a book?" and he blamed the Bible for burning heretics and building dungeons. He stayed busy with his freethought activity — and his law business — until 1876 when he would burst on the national scene.

In "Plumed Knight" Plummer explains that the centennial year was Ingersoll's introduction to the American public. By the end of the year he was lecturing in dozens of cities and preparing for his move from Peoria to

Washington, D.C. in 1877. He was asked to nominate James Blaine for president at the 1876 Republican convention. Although Blaine lost the nomination to Rutherford B. Hayes, the Illinois orator won the hearts of the delegates with his famous "Plumed Knight" speech. Ingersoll also gave a powerful centennial oration in Peoria on July fourth and then the memorable "Vision of War" in Indianapolis on September 20th during the height of the campaign.

Plummer provides many fine quotations. Among them is this comment, which originated when Ingersoll took time from this political speech-making to warn a preacher friend who was contemplating a race for the legislature: "(Politics) will make your ordinary every day life dull, and you will get an appetite for political excitement, and the first thing you know you will be one of the wicked . . . . Politics is a mean low business."

It is also a fascinating business, and Plummer vividly reflects the mixture of politics and other interests in the life of a unique man. This is a fine monograph about an Illinoisan who deserves more attention that he has received.

Michael D. Richardson
Rock Island, Illinois

AN ILLINOIS LEGACY: GUBERNATORIAL ADDRESSES OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON 1949-1952. Edited by Michael Maher. Bloomington, Ill.: Paint Hill Press, 1985. Pp. 166. $28 ($11 paperbound) The address: Paint Hill Press, P.O. Box 41111, Bloomington, Il. 61702

The twentieth anniversary of the death of Adlai Stevenson (1900-1965) passed without much notice last year, but *An Illinois Legacy* helps to offset the unfortunate neglect. And it does so in an ideal way — by providing us with a selection of his unpublished gubernatorial speeches. Editor Michael Maher includes thirty-seven of the 140 addresses that Stevenson wrote and delivered during his term of office (1949-1952). They complement the more well-known speeches that he delivered during and after his remarkable first run for the presidency in 1952, which have long been available. Those later works were often co-authored by ghost writers; his gubernatorial speeches were not.

The remarkable thing about the speeches is that they are still readable, and occasionally quotable, after almost forty years. One could not imagine finding anything of similar interest among the speeches of Dwight H. Green, who preceded him in office, or William C. Stratton, who followed him — or any other Illinois governor. He was the most eloquent chief executive the state has ever had.

Stevenson was also a governor who accomplished much in a single term. He presented the 1949 legislature with the most ambitious legislative program in Illinois history, and about two thirds of his

proposals were enacted. Moreover, he substantially cleaned up the notorious graft in the Welfare Department, almost doubled the state appropriation for education, and vetoed a bill requiring teachers and other state officials to take a loyalty oath. He governed with idealism and insight, determination and common sense.

The speeches in Maher's collection reflect a variety of governmental responsibilities and political purposes — from developing support for a new Illinois Constitution (another of Stevenson's achievements) to dedicating a memorial to abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy (one of his heroes). Although some of what Stevenson said is of interest only to students of the state's political history, his democratic idealism, historical perspective, and complex vision are sufficiently evident to give the volume broader appeal.

One of the most interesting speeches in the collection was delivered at a Chicago Historical Society Gettysburg Address Exhibit in 1950. Of course, it reveals his admiration for the sixteenth president, but more importantly, it demonstrates that Stevenson's famous "call to greatness" — his summoning of Americans to pursue the cause of democracy — was a conscious reflection of Lincoln's role as spiritual leader in the struggle to maintain popular government: "Lincoln's fight is not finished. The far future into which he looked is here, and we are now the living. Four score and seven years after he uttered these immortal words, it is for us to be rededicated to our democratic faith" (p.90).

Another 1950 address, at the 50th Anniversary Meeting of the Jewish Federation of Chicago, is a good example of Stevenson's Lincolnesque focus on the inner or spiritual conflict that lies at the center of the Cold War. And it also reflects the global perspective that later made him a superb Ambassador to the United Nations:

> Today we are engaged with the Kremlin in a struggle for the hearts and minds of men. We condemn Communism and its materialistic philosophy. But, if our only advantage over Russia is our superiority in material things, if we counter Soviet materialism only with a materialism of our own, the world will find little to choose between us . . . .
>
> We won't resist the Soviet impact on the Western world with a schizophrenic society which protests its devotion to democratic ideals while it indulges in undemocratic practices, or which recoils in horror from alien materialism but, blinded by its own material accomplishments, loses sight of its spiritual heritage. If Western civilization is to save its body it must save its soul too.

Another fine speech, delivered at a Democratic state committee dinner in Portland, Oregon during 1952, reveals much about the difference between Stevenson's political values and the Democratic Party of today. In fact, it even warns against a development which subsequently occurred: "The everlasting danger of a people's party is that it may become a party of groups. . . . It must never become a labor party, a farmer party, or the party of any group. That would be disaster for the party. . . ." The crushing

Mondale-Farraro defeat in 1984 was a disaster partially attributable to this very shift in Democratic focus from the people to various groups of people who demanded commitments from the candidates. The same speech also finds Stevenson warning that "government itself may become too great a concentration of power" and that "the least government, the least possible, is the best government." Democrats have ignored that advice too — and Ronald Reagan made that perspective his central campaign theme in 1980.

As this suggests, there is much to be learned from Stevenson — and although *An Illinois Legacy* does not include any of his greatest speeches, it is a valuable collection. The editor deleted portions of some addresses but did not indicate his omissions, so the volume falls short of scholarly standards, but he provided an insightful Preface and produced an attractive, interesting volume.

John E. Hallwas
Western Illinois University

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN LEE ALLAMAN is pursuing a Doctor of Arts Degree at Illinois State University. His articles on Henderson County and the western Illinois frontier have appeared in several previous issues of *WIRS*.

LLOYD and WILMA GUNDY, of Arvada, Colorado, are members of the Descendants of Icaria, an organization of Icarian relatives and others interested in the American experience of Etienne Cabet's followers. Mr. Gundy has degrees in history and theology.

GEORGE MONTEIRO, Professor of English at Brown University, is the author of *Henry James and John Hay: The Record of a Friendship* (1965), as well as many articles on Hay. He is co-editor of *The John Hay-Howells Letters* (1980) and editor of *John Hay's Pike County* (1984).

SHEILA H. NOLLEN, Government Publications and Legal Reference Librarian at Western Illinois University, is also the author of an article on managing a government publications collection, which recently appeared in *Illinois Libraries*.

CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS is completing his master's degree in history at Illinois State University and will soon be pursuing a Ph.D. in that field. He intends to specialize in the Civil War.

ROBERT P. SUTTON, Professor of History at Western Illinois University, is the editor of *The Prairie State: A Documentary History of Illinois* (1976), and is the author of several articles on Illinois history. He is Director of the Center for Icarian Studies at WIU and has recently translated Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* into English.